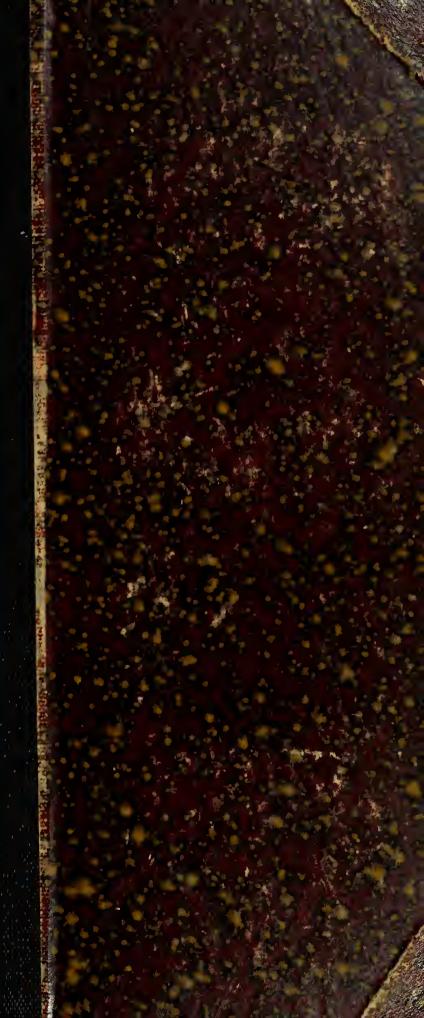
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Carlyle's Influence on Kipling

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CARLYLE'S INFLUENCE ON KIPLING

BY

SIDNEY HAYES COX A. B. Bates College, 1911

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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Additional Points of Likeness

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BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

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CARLYLE'S INFLUENCE ON KIPLING

I Introductory.

Mr. J. M. Barrie has said of Kipling, "he owes nothing to any other writer. No one helped to form him. He never imitated He began by being original." With this dictum many who have read Kipling would agree. Certainly Kipling is no slavish imitator. The matter of Kipling is so preëminently fresh, and his manner is so utterly independent that Barrie's statement seems very natural. But it must not be taken literally; in fact it will be seen that Kipling's indebtedness is large.

Mr. Barrie would not hesitate to concede that just as Lowgli would have been unable to master the secrets of the jungle without his attentive Baloo and Bagheera, so Kipling could not have mastered so many of the secrets of the universe without assimilating the wisdom of those who went before him. It would be absurd to deny that Kipling was subject to a vast general influence. His utterances indicate a strong particular influence from Thomas Carlyle.

Carlyle was the voice of one crying in a wilderness of conventionality, materialistic negation and sentimentality. For many years he was without honor, but his loud and incessant cry "Repent ye and give heed to the laws of God" eventually made itself heard. And his message gripped and moulded the minds of many

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1. "Kipling's Stories" Contemporary Review v 59 p 366. 1891.



strong men, before his death. To him in large measure was due the reawakening of moral earnestness in literature. He upbraided and labored with stern vehemence to resist, the freedom-frenzy of his age, though his great contemporary guild-brothers were hardly recovered from it.

Now, Kipling appeared at the close of the Lineteenth Century as the prime exponent of the reaction against the effete and the anaemic in literature, and against the excessive and sentimental development of the conception of liberty and equality. The mantle of the prophet had descended to him. Even more completely than those other sons of the prophet, Kingsley, Ruskin, Dickens and Tennyson, he had become imbued with the message of the seer.

In other words, it was as if electric currents from Carlyle had surcharged the intellectual heavens during the latter half of the century; and off in India there was a highly sensitive psychic apparatus of very much the same type which received many of the vibrations. That second marconi instrument was Rudyard Kipling.

An analysis of representative works of both writers has revealed the fact that certain cardinal, comprehensive doctrines of Carlyle find implicit and explicit utterance, expansion and adaptation in Kipling. A study of five related ideas common to both men, and one derivative idea in Kipling will substantiate the thesis that Kipling was influenced by Carlyle. These ideas are:



first, that in the long run right and might are identical; second, the conception of order; third, the conception of the hero, and of hero-worship; fourth, the allied conceptions of paternalism and imperialism; fifth, the gospel of work. And the idea suggested to Hipling by Carlyle is that of singing the song of tools.



II World View.

If we understand the general idea of the world upon which Carlyle based his teachings, and which in some measure Kipling holds with him, the teachings will themselves be more comprehensible.

Carlyle utterly discarded what he called "the dead body" of religion. For the dogmas of Christianity he was constantly wishing a decent burial. And repeatly he was tempted publicly to expose the limp vacancy of the "Hebrew old clothes." But he believed with all the intensity of his soul in the spirit of religion. The warp upon which all the fabric of his teaching was woven was firm trust in "the Divine Spirit of the Universe". Le felt that the great defect at the foundation of society in his day was the lack of religious awe and belief. Widespread doubt he considered a mortal disease of society. And he was earnestly desirous of new vestures and symbols for religion. He said, "pious awe of the Great Unknown makes a sacred canopy, under which all has to grow".1

Kipling follows Carlyle in repudiating religious traditions, and creeds, and he shares his contempt of cant. About what his positive attitude toward religion is, the inferences from what he has written are conflicting. I think he, too, has exalted moments, at least, when he has a living hope of a Divine Spirit.

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The bitter paths wherein I stray, Thou knowest Who has made the Fire Thou knowest Tho has made the Clay."

Notes prepared for his Inaugural Speech at Edinburgh University, but not used. Quoted in honcure Conway's Life of Thomas Carlyle.
 For example, this sounds sincere and reverent:
 "The depth and dream of my desire



Plainly he agrees with Carlyle that doubt is morally and spiritually corrosive. In "The Dykes", we find these lines:

"We have not heart for the fishing, we have no hand for the oar.

All that our fathers taught us of old pleases us now no more; All that our own hearts bid us believe we doubt where we do not deny -

There is no proof in the bread we eat or rest in the toil we ply."1

And it is also evident that his desire is to retain the kernel of true religion. In the stirring "Song of the English" he says,

Hold ye the Faith, the Faith our Fathers sealed us; Whoring not with visions overwise and overstale Except ye pay the Lord Single heart and single sword,
Of your children in their bondage he shall ask them to

Of your children in their bondage he shall ask them treble tale!"2

tian, and they are fairly typical. Kipling's deity is "Jehovah of the Thunders." It is the God of the Israelites whom Carlyle worships. To men of such exceedingly forceful natures the conceptions of limitless Power, of law, and of obedience were most attractive. Moreover in the case of Carlyle the Calvinistic training of his youth impressed upon him the more austere phases of religion. So with both writers the religious atmosphere of the Old Testament is inseperably associated.

Carlyle was not a philosopher. He despised what he labelled logic-chopping. Instead of cooly reasoning about great problems he accepted as final illuminating flashes of emotion. He

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^{1.} Collected Verse p 206.

^{2.} Ibid p 84.



was satisfied that "it is the heart always that sees before the head can see". 1 But the confident of transcendental enlightenment, and "estentatiously illogical" 2 as 1r. John Lorley pronounces him, Carlyle did read considerable philosophy, and he accepted idealism, the hypothesis that all sensible nature is a manifestation of the Universal Spirit. This Spirit his intuition told him must be absolute goodness. He wrote, "The great soul of the universe is Just. With a voice soft as the harmony of spheres, yet stronger, sterner, than all thunders, this message does now and then reach us through the hollow jargon of things. This great fact we live in and were made by." 3 Such was the voice of his heart, and he devoutly accepted it.

and yet his own experience of constant trial and disappointment, and the welter of woe and degradation he observed with such keen sorrow all about him had somehow to be accounted for. In calm, trustful moments he saw that the same course was to declare with the psalmists, "Thy ways are not my ways", and that the inscrutable being of God "is too wonderful for me. I cannot attain unto it." He said, "Better were it that mere earthly historians should ... at most, in reverent faith, pause over the mysterious vestiges of him whose path is in the great deep of Time, whom history indeed reveals, but only all history, and in Eternity will clearly reveal." Le was, however far too

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^{1. &}quot;Chartism" "Miscellaneous Essays" v IV p 148. C. and H. ed.

^{2.} Niscellanies v I p 143.

^{3.} Letter to Thomas Erskine (1847) Froude's "Carlyle's Life in London" v 2 p 19.

^{4.} Quoted in Augustine Birrel's "Obiter Dicta" p 19.



impatient to be willing to check his questionings until all history has been enacted. Instead he tried to evolve for himself an explanation of earthly circumstances to accord with his own inner sense of right. Not being hampered by an insistent demand of consciousness for logical consistency, he as able to arrive at what he deemed the eternal laws of the universe.

Most clear of all laws to Carlyle was the law that man should not seek or expect happiness. The "Everlasting Yea" for him was, "Love not Pleasure; love God". I fhat disposed of much that men call evil in life. All real evil was in Carlyle's judgment due to the infraction of God's laws by man. A conception of life which begins by abnegation of the desire for happiness is not a joyous one; and it seems very different from a gospel of love. But Carlyle did not see good in that gospel, or, at least, seeing infinite palpable negations of it in the world he embraced unflinchingly his grimmer gospel. He said, "The Gospel which this world of fact does preach to one differs considerably from the sugary twaddle one gets the offer of."

Now Hipling in a few instances implies a belief similar to Carlyle's that this world is a phantasmagoria which in moments of illumination we recognize as a visible expression of Infinite Power and Justice. The puts into the mouth of his sturdy Scotch Engineer the prayer,

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¹⁾ Sartor Resartus p 145.

²⁾ Letter to Emerson. Carlyle Emerson Correspondence v II, p 105.



"Lord thou hast made this world below the shadow of a dream

From coupler-flange to spindle-guide I see Thy hand, 3 God."1

And however much of Carlyle's world view Kipling may have slighted off, one very essential element he takes to himself unreservedly. That is the conception which colors all the opinions that he has received from Carlyle; the conception that the true gospel is a gospel preached by "this world of fact", and that the workings of the world which we find universally prevalent are sanctioned by the will of God. Kipling's God is a "God of Things as they are."

Carlyle, the "defiantly inconsistent", by no means went to the length of justifying "whatever is". Temporary folly, and ignorance, sham, sin and suffering; all, he ascribed to the disobedience of man, who "is not the thrall of circumstances, of necessity", but who should be "the victorious subduer thereof". The shibboleth of political science, popular in the earlier part of Carlyle's career, "Laissaiz faire", was to him intolerable. He vowed that he would "pronounce it at all fit times to be false, heretical and damnable, if ever aught was." And yet the idea that all things are equally a manifestation of dod is, though practically baneful, a logical one, if one accepts Carlyle's view that the universe in all aspects "is the living visible garment of God". 3

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3) Sartor Resartus p 41.

¹⁾ M'Andrew's Hymn. Collected Verse p 34.

²⁾ Chartism. Liscellaneous Essays v IV p 131.



In many of Kipling's stories, and in some of his poems appears that idea that men might as well submit to the prevalence of sin inasmuch as every event that happens is a part of God's working. Unlike Carlyle he does not exclude man himself from the ultimate unity which is divine. "In Departmental Ditties" and in many of the Indian stories the attitude of the author leads the reader to infer that he regards sinning as comical rather than reprehensible, "since", as he asserts, "the human soul is infinite and not in the least under its own command". 1

But that is not the attitude of Hipling at his best.

Always tolerant of the strong man's misdemeanors, as was Carlyle, he exhibits in his more mature writings an emphatic moral earnestness which is akin, as will be shown, in its fervor, and in the purport of its message to that of his spiritual ancestor.

The other corollaries of Carlyle's idealistic conception of the world are the five outstanding lessons which Hipling has learned from him, and is transmitting in story and verse. Of these the most startling, and the most apparent corollary is the doctrine of Right and Might.

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1) Speaking in propia persona. "The Light that Failed" p 55.



III Right and Might.

"The great soul of the world is just." That allimportant axiom Carlyle retained from the strict Calvanistic training of his boyhood. The certain voice of intuition assured him
that such is the final truth; a truth which all strong, true men
have understood, and one of which the noble man is by his veracious
soul inevitably made sure.

And when Carlyle says a principle of justice is eternally operating in this world he means that the divine power controls in such a manner that fact triumphs over sham, and virtue is established and blessed; and that hypocrisy and sin are condemned, and quacks and evil-doers forced to pay the penalty for their dishonesty and disobedience. It is the austere justice which decrees unceasing torment in hell to the scoundrel, and veneration to the hero.

Carlyle declares that all history is a bible bearing witness to this absolute divine justice. Throughout its pages we see that the genuine has remained, the u eless and the unreal have been swept out of existence. Battles and conquests have accomplished the pruning and purging, and have usually set up the due order.

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1) "Past and Present" p 12.



But this seems to imply that overwhelming defeat, rapine, devastation and slaughter are all divinely sanctioned. To this, however, Carlyle does not agree. Lany a victory, even some conquests are evidently unjust; they are unfortunate incidental accompaniments of great movements having quite another trend. But such successes of war are but "sham-successes".

"If we examine", says Carlyle, "we shall find that, in this world, no conquest could ever become permanent which did not withal show itself beneficial to the conquered as well as to the conquerors." It is only the permanent conquest which we have to look upon as confirmed by the Eternal Verities. The transitory success may be of generations or even centuries but its termination and ruin are as certain as the law of gravitation.

And a conquest in order to be lasting must be beneficial, not only to the victors, but to the vanquished as well. A higher order of civilization must be assured to the conquered people, and a better privilege given them of fulfilling the supreme laws of the universe.

It is, said Carlyle in most of his discussions of this aspect of history, only the inherently righteous cause, the beneficial one which can prevail. Such a one is inevitably successful because it is divinely supported. For that reason the right

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^{1) &}quot;Might and Right do differ frightfully from hour to hour; but give them centuries to try it in they are found to be identical.
... The strong thing is the great thing: this thou wilt find throughout in our world; as indeed was God and Truth the Laker of our world, or was Satan and Falsehood?" "Chartism", "Miscellaneous Essays" v IV p 174.

²⁾ Chartism. Miscellaneous Essays v IV p 146.



will have might. Long periods of postponement and confusion may intervene, but "In all battles if you await the issue, each fighter has prospered according to his right. His right and his might, at the close of the account, were one and the same. He has fought with all his might, and in exact proportion to his right he has prevailed."

It is "the issue", not as observed in a temporary "sphere of Semblance", but in the inner "sphere of Fact, by which the justice and, hence, the permanence of a cause or an enterprise are made clear. And it is only the soul of veracity who is able to gain a vision of the "sphere of Fact". It is such clear-visioned, true men, only who recognize a true success.

And it is such a perception of Justice which endows men with the might which becomes supreme.

"Deep in the heart of the noble man it lies forever legible, that as an Invisible Just God made him, so will and must God's Justice and this only, were it never so invisible, ultimately prosper in all controversies and enterprises and battles whatsoever." And this implicit trust emboldens the spirit and nerves the arm of the champion, and makes him mighty.

It is from the infinite Power that might comes to men and to nations. "It was well said", Carlyle exclaims, "there lay in the Acknowledged Strongest a divine right; as surely there might

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^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 17.

²⁾ Ibid p 237.



in the Strongest, whether acknowledged or not, - considering $\underline{\text{who}}$ it was that made him strong."

Without the implantation of essentially noble qualities no man could be for long a conqueror. The man of might must "be strong, and not in muscle only, ... (but also) of neart, noble of soul; ... dread no pain or death, ... not love ease or life; in rage ... remember mercy, justice; ... be a Knight." The strong man succeeds because he is,

"The wise man, the man with the gift of method, of faithfulness and valor, ... who has insight into what is what and what will follow out of what, the eye to see and the hand to do; who is fit to administer, to direct, and guidingly command."

And just as a divinely strengthened, illumined and directed character is to the individual the source of might, so the favor of Heaven upon a cause inevitably brings it to impregnable power. The Puritans when leaving England for America prayed for God's blessing on their weak little band, and their cause being an absolutely just one the blessing of might was vouchsafed to them.

"Furitanism was only despicable, laughable then; but no-body can manage to laugh at it now. Furitanism has got weapons and sinews; it has fire-arms, war-navies; it has cunning in its ten fingers, strength in its right arm; it can steer ships, fell forests, remove mountains; - it is one of the strongest things under the sun at present."

Right, in other words, is latent

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^{1) &}quot;French Revolution" Bk. I pt 1 p 10.

^{2) &#}x27;Past and Present" p 237.

^{3) &}quot;Chartism". Miscellaneous Essays v IV p 146.

^{) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 192.



might. In the long run the two are bound to come at once.

But Carlyle does not stop with the declaration that since the world is controlled by a God of exact justice the right is in the long run brought to pass; victorious might given to men who have the veracity and insight to put their trust in His justice; and triumph accorded to causes which are right. That is only part of the doctrine.

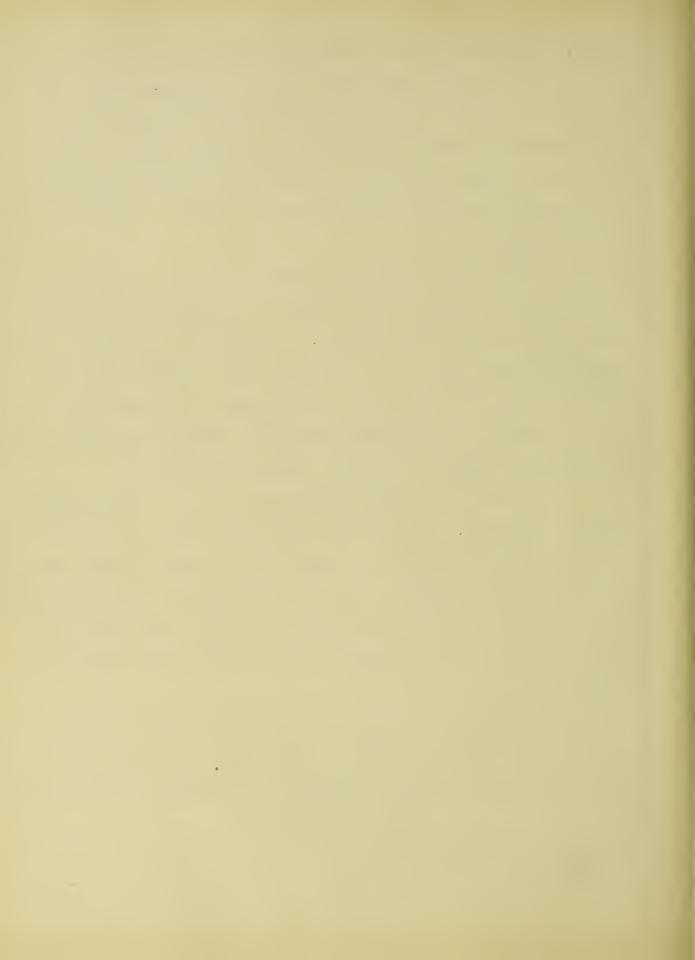
his vivid admiration of forcible action is seen to be modifying the conception when we find him praising the feudal regime under William the Conqueror. He lauds with enthusiasm the "rugged stalwart ages; full of a rude God's truth", when "The Bravest men, who, it is ever to be repeated and remembered, are also on the whole the Wisest, Strongest, everyway Best, had, with a respectable degree of accuracy, been got selected."

To be told that the bravest are on the whole everyway best is startling. And when we understand that the unscrupulous, rapacious Norman barons are so described we discover that Carlyle is here pronouncing best that which is concerned with an ultimately beneficial movement, and that which is at all times effective, rather than that which conforms to any conventional standard of virtue.

The Norman Conquest with all the slaughter and pillage and brutality which it introduced into England has established itself as a permanent and far-reaching fact. Hence it and its methods

^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 303.

²⁾ Ibid 302.



are divinely approved. It has succeeded; therefore it must have been right. Carlyle clearly states this argument, "all goes by wager - of - battle in this world; - strength, well understood, is the measure of all worth. Give a thing time; if it can succeed it is a right thing."

"Romans, Normans, Russians, Indo-English" have prevailed and set up their authority over the people whom they have vanquished demonstrates the divine right they had to do so. For, since there dwells in them a conscious or "unconscious abhorrence and intolerance" "of Folly, of Baseness, Stupidity, Poltroonery ... clothed moreover by the beneficent Supreme Powers in what stout appetites, energies, egoisms so-called are suited to it" they are surely "Bravest, Best". Moreover those subjugated must have been "a confused rabble of Worst, or at lowest, clearly enough of Morse."

A little logic-chopping reveals in the foregoing utterance the bald assumptions that mere land-nungry aggressors are Godinspired and best; and that the conquered are evidently from their lack of might, worst or worse. Then the inference is that not only does right give might, but might is an evidence of right.

¹⁾ In commenting on a work by Thierry "celebrating the fate of the Saxons fallen under that fierce-hearted Conquestor", Carlyle remarks in Chartism (p 173) "and yet, on the whole, taking matters on that great scale, what can we say but that the cause which pleased the gods has in the end to please Cato also? Cato cannot alter it. Cato will find that he cannot at bottom wish to alter it."

^{2) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 191.

³⁾ Ibid p 264.



Rome being stronger and wiser than all the world did right in exercising despotic sway over it. England being more powerful and more sagacious than India carried out the divine justice in assuming absolute control over her. The fact of less might shows the need of rule by a higher power. The inefficiency of India showed a lack of veracity. By right government a due sense of the justice of God may be restored to them.

Indeed Carlyle intimates that with the might goes an obligation. "Cans't and Shalt", he once said, "if they are very well understood mean the same thing under this Sun of ours."

But as was implied above the promotion of Justice is not confined to the exertions of those who are consciously opposed to sham and unveracity. Any bold man of might may be employed to cast down the weak man, his might being his sole and sufficient sanction. "Men hungry for gold, remorseless, fierce as the old Buccanneers were" may be "sent by the Laws of this Universe, and inexorable Course of Things."

Might makes right, in fact. The English, Carlyle says in substance, have at present most might, and fitness therefore, to own, govern, and profit by the islands of the West Indies. The time may come when their might will wane. Then will appear a race of men with unconquered might, and they will subdue the English and force them to abandon their possession. And that will be right;

¹⁾ Carlyle Emerson Correspondence v I p 108.

^{2) &}quot;The Nigger Question" Miscellaneous Essays v IV p 376.



for the new adventurers will be possessed of the might which the British will have lost.

And the might concerned when we speak of the barons of William the Conqueror, and especially of buccaneers is sheer force, not the power derived from a sustaining trust in the Justice of the Universe. As far as the individual man is concerned his right consists in his hight and nothing more.

Therefore it is apparent that Carlyle's idea that since the Soul of the Universe is just all permanent success must issue from right, and all true men and noble causes must ultimately prosper, degenerated, even with Carlyle himself into the belief that long continued success is a proof of right, that the bravest are ipso facto the best, that the strong ought to subjugate the weak, that inferiority in strength is a sign of moral deficiency, and finally that mere superiority of force constitutes a moral sanction.

In Carlyle's gospel of Right and Right "we begin" as John orley says, "with introspection and the eternities, and end in blood and iron."

A rapt listener to this vigorous doctrine of the vehement Scottish seer was Rudyard Kipling. The practical part of it he took and made his own; and ever since accepting it he has delivered the message in diverse parables. The notion that on the whole might and right are identical permeates his writings. It

¹⁾ Miscellanies v I p 148.



furnishes the ethical justification of his love of war; and it underlies his imperialism.

Like Carlyle, Kipling is a man to whom all forceful, efficient traits make a particularly strong appeal. It was easy for him to accept the statement that the fact of triumphant light is an evidence of noble qualities. his Mulvaney, and all his victorious soldiers are, what Carlyle says the man of genuine might must be, strong both in heart and muscle, free from the dread of pain and death, not given to love of ease or life.

and Kipling's winning armies were under the generalship of officers with 'the gift of method, of faithfulness and valor, ... who had insight into what is what and what will follow out of what, the eye to see and the hand to do." It is to exactly those qualities of intrepidity and hardihood and penetrating insight and efficiency that Kipling traces success. In his "Hymn before Action", he prays,

"From panic pride, and terror
Revenge that knows no reign,
Light haste and lawless error,
Protect us yet again.
Cloke Thou our understanding,
Dake firm the shuddering breath,
In silence and unswerving
To taste They lesærdeath!"

Moreover Ripling assents to the declaration that the recognition of a just God increases might. In the 'Recessional' that belief is implied, notably where the poet implores the Lord God of Hosts to preserve the nation from the peril which will

¹⁾ Collected Verse p 218.

²⁾ Ibid, p 219.



menace,

"If, drunk with sight of power, we loose Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe;"

and, also where he intercedes for the heathen who "guarding, calls not thee to guard."

There is, also, a deeper implication in these two martial hymns. The invocation of divine aid presupposed divine approbation of the cause for which the armies are to go forth. But the only military campaigns in which Great Eritain has been involved during the years of Kipling's authorship have been those of aggression and subjugation. Therefore when Lipling sings,

"Jehovah of the Thunders, Lord God of Battles, aid"

we must infer that Ripling would instil the belief that God desires to have Great Britain the ruler of the weaker peoples. And we must further infer that the past acquisitions, and subjections of the lands now tributary to England are proved by their permanence to be in accordance with the Supreme Will when we consider the lines,

"God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine."2

It is not only in these poems, but also throughout Kipling's works that we find the tacit assumption that firmly established success is an index of rightness.

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2) "Recessional" Ibid p. 219.

^{1) &}quot;Hymn Before Action" "Collected Verse" p 218.



Another phase of Carlyle's doctrine of might and right which Kipling adopted fully was the idea that the possession of might imposes the duty of controlling the weaker. It is this idea which is the excuse for an imperialistic policy. If it is the White Fan's burden

"To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child"

it was also his duty to capture them in order that they might be trained into a sane and orderly, veracious citizenship. Carlyle, as we have seen, made mention of the "Indo-English" conquest as one which was right because it was an assumption by the "Dravest and Best" of control over the Worst, or Worse. It would seem that Kipling had felt it to be part of his mission to disseminate that conception of the national policy.

Nor was Kipling at all loath to follow his master in imputing vital deficiency to the weaker man, or nation. In South Africa the absence of inexpugnable might showed the unfitness of the Boers to retain control. They were formidable antagonists, but they were not, in evolutionary phrase, the fittest. Therefore, it was right for England to supplant them.

In point of fact, wight and Right, Hipling seems to say, are indistinguishable terms. The events which become established facts inevitably must be right. Like Carlyle, to be sure, he would insist upon a provisional "when properly understood".

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2) See page 15.

^{1) &}quot;The White Man's Burden" Collected Verse p 215.



Thus he clearly expresses the idea that the thing which force brings to pass is caused by the will of God:

"The North Wind blew: ' ...

'By the great Lorth Lights above me I work the will of God, And the liner splits on the ice-field or the Digger fills with cod.'"1

And again - the idea of divinely authorized mortal might is here expressed:

"And the rest is the will of God. he sent the Mahratta spear As he sendeth the rain."2

The whole doctrine of the interrelation of might and right tends to foster pure individualism. This tendency does not supersede, in Kipling, certain other motives demanding an interest in others. And yet he recognized it, and is himself inclined to condone the offenses of the powerful egotist. In an early poem satirizing socialism, called "An Imperial Rescript", he gives the individualistic argument:

"And the young King said 'I have found it, the road to the rest ye seek "'The strong shall wait for the weary, the hale shall halt for the weak'

"And an English delegate thundered: 'The weak an' the lame be blowed!

"'I work for the kids and the missus. Full up!
I'll be damned if I will!"

"But till we are built like angels-with hammer and chisel and pen

"We'll work for ourself and a woman, forever and ever. Amen." 3

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1) "The English Flag". Collected Verse p 128.

2) "What the People Said". Departmental Ditties and Other Verses.

3) Collected Verse p 186.



Just as Frederick the Great and William the Conqueror had an undeservedly large place in the heart of Carlyle because they accomplished enormous results, relying not on deliberate calculation but on the impulse of their will; so the captains of armies, of ships and of industry have undue position in the esteem of Kipling for this same might. In his beautiful apostrophe to imagination, "The True Romance", Hipling says,

"Pure Wisdom hath no certain path
That lacks Thy morning-eyne;
And captains bold by Thee controlled
Nost like to God's design."

There is a danger that both Carlyle and his followers will be interpreted by able but unscrupulous and anti-social men in positions of power as preachers of a gospel in which they shall be called righteous. But both Carlyle and Kipling refuse to be so logical; they insist that the powerful shall make provision for the weak.

From the foregoing exposition of the respective doctrines of right and might of Carlyle and Tipling it has become plain that Kipling was on this point profoundly influenced by Carlyle. He took from him, we have found, these ideas: that the fact of triumphant might is an evidence of noble qualities; that the recognition of a just God increases might; that the supremacy of the stronger over the weaker is divinely ordained; that firmly established success is an index of rightness; that the possession of might imposes the duty



of controlling the weaker; that the bravest are necessarily the best, and those who could be conquered necessarily worst or worse; that might and right well understood are, in short, synonymous. And we have further seen that Kipling follows Carlyle in exalting unduly the efficiently forceful man, and yet, like him, maintains that man's position in society imposes obligations to extend his consideration beyond his own narrow interests.



IV Order.

I have said that Kipling follows Carlyle in insisting that, though might and right are, when viewed in perspective, equivalent, yet there is more required of the strong man than merely that he should accomplish his narrowly personal enterprises. The duty which they declare is imposed on him by the law of justice is, as appeared above, that of creating and maintaining order.

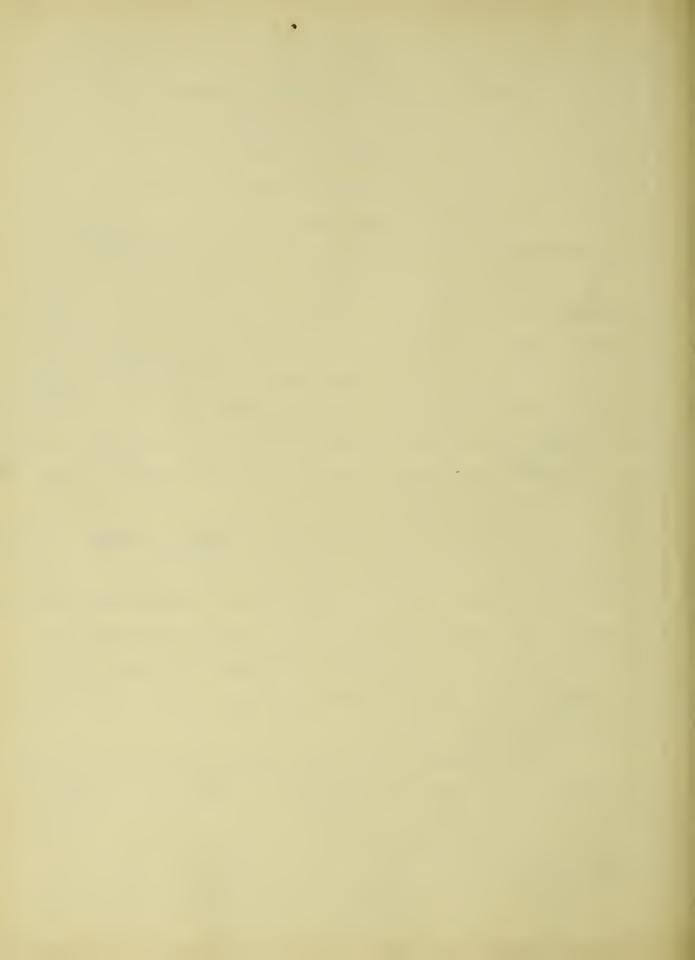
Carlyle would enlist every man of might in the endeavor to hasten the day of which he prophesied, when "there will again be a King in Israel; a system of Order and Government; and every man shall, in some measure, see himself constrained to do that which is right in the King's eyes." Reduced to lowest terms the duty of every powerful nation and of every strong man is, according to Carlyle, to enforce upon mankind absolute reverent obedience to the eternal laws of the universe.

The sole question he deemed — it needful to find the answer to when considering the worth of Russia was: "Are they not even now drilling, under much obloquy, an immense semi-barbarous half-world from Finland to Kamtschatka, into rule, subordination, civilization." — To have extended the boundaries of the realm of rule, subordination and civilization is nobly to have acquitted itself of its duty as a nation.

For, inasmuch as this world is the creation of a God of rigid equity, and controlled by his will, the one thing needful

^{1) &}quot;Past and Fresent" p 310.

²⁾ Ibid p 196.



among his creatures is that his laws should be unfulteringly obeyed. The divine will should be accorded that same absolute sway in the affairs of men that it has over dumb nature, not that man might for his obedience reap a reward; but because such obedience is inherently right, and if not rendered voluntarily, will ultimately be entorted, with dire penalties. And the subordination of tribes and individuals to mortal potentates is in effect forcing them into such a position that fulfillment of God's laws cannot be neglected.

From a purely practical point of view, also, order is the prime requisite of society. No onward movement is possible without leaders and men in regulated ranks. For any genuine advancement the world must be "regimented". There must, therefore, be proper discipline and strict enforcement of commands.

In one place Carlyle states thus the extreme importance of forcibly preserving order: "Unwritten if you will, but real and fundamental, anterior to all written laws and first making written laws possible, there must have been, and is, and will be, coeval with Human Society, ... an actual Martial Law, of more validity than any other law whatever." If any man fails to find his alloted station in the universal order, or if he stupidly wanders from it the best and kindest treatment that he can receive is "by mild"

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^{1) &}quot;Nature keeps silently a most exact Savings-Eank, and official register correct to the most evanescent item, Debtor and Creditor, in respect to one and all of us; silently marks down, Creditor by such and unseen act of veracity and heroism; Debtor to such a loud blustery blunder, twenty-seven million strong or one unit strong, and to all acts and words and thoughts executed in consequence of that, - Debtor, Debtor, Debtor, day after day, vigorously as Fate (for this is Fate that is writing); and at the end of the account you will have it all to pay my friend;"

2) "Shooting Niagara". Liscellaneous Essays v V p 12.



persuasion, or by the severest tyranny so-called", to be checked in his mad path and to be forwarded in his "best path" - even by "blows and spurnings."

on the staff of the army of society is the only freedom attainable by man; indeed it is the only kind a same man can desire. Other freedom is but slavery to ignorance and anarchy. Is, in an army without officers and drill masters soldiers would, in the throes of battle, fall into dreadful confusion and indiscriminate slaughter; so individuals unorganizated and devoid of control become but futile vagabonds continually involved in difficulties, and a menace to all other men.

The military system Carlyle looked upon as by all means the type of organization most worthy of emulation by society. His exact position can be most readily understood by studying one of his own utterances:

"I always fancy there might much be done in the way of military drill withal. ... the entire Population could be thoroughly drilled; into cooperative movement, into individual behavior, correct, precise, and at once habitual and orderly as mathematics ... That of commanding and obeying ... is it not the basis of all human culture; ...?... The one Official Person, royal, sacerdotal, scholastic, governmental, of our times, who is still thoroughly a truth and a reality, and not in great part a hypothesis and worn-out humbug

^{1) &}quot;Tast and Present" p 271.



proposing and attempting a duty which he fails to do, - is the Drill Tergeant ... not the man in three stripes alone; ... all such men up to the Turenne, to the Friedrich of Prussia. ... But now, what is to hinder the acknowledged Hing in all corners of his territory, to introduce wisely a universal system of Drill, not military only, but human in all kinds; ... I would begin with it, in mild, soft forms, so soon almost as my children were able to stand on their legs; and I would never remit it until they had done with the world and me. ... This of outwardly combined and plainly consociated Discipline, in simultaneous movement and action ... is one of the noblest capabilities of man. ... A richer mine than any in California for poor human creatures; richer by what a multiple; and hitherto as good as never opened, - worked only for the Fighting purpose." 1

Drill, it appears, was in the judgment of Carlyle, a means of benefit incalculable, because it trains and enables man to make the marches and fight the battle of life, each in his fit station, with becoming reverence, and power of direction befitting his ability. The obedience of the private to the commanding officer was, in Carlyle's opinion, not a symbol only of obedience to divine commands, but an actual submission to the will of God.

Carlyle's appreciation of military prowess and regimen was as I have indicated, evoked by their appeal to instinctive and temperamental qualities dominant in him, and it was confirmed by his

^{1) &}quot;Shooting Miagara". Liscellaneous Essays v V pp 41, 42.



general conception of the world. It was, therefore, of remarkable intensity; and a distinct and prominent phase of his doctrine of Order was an exaltation of military order as such. In the disquisition on drill quoted from above, he goes on to say:

"Assuredly I would not neglect the Fighting purpose; no, from sixteen to sixty not a son of mine but should know the Soldier's function too, and be able to defend his native soil and self, in hest perfection, when need came. ... Soldier-Drill for fighting purposes, as I have said, would be the last or finishing touch of all these sorts of Drilling."

This military drill should be imposed onall young men, because it is efficacious in developing resolute, obedient men with a sense of the interdependence of mankind and with unquestioning loyalty to superiors. Because he compelled recruits boldly to execute commands however perilous, and enforced rigid compliance with every order the drill sergeant was to Carlyle a highly honorable officer. "Next to his hero" says James Russel Lowell, speaking of the "History of Frederick the Great", "next to his hero, the cane of the drill sergeant and iron ramrods appear to be the conditions which to his mind satisfactorily account for the result of the Seven Years War."²

The utter finality of the drill sergeant's commands, and the inevitable, summary punishment inflicted upon a recalcitrant or heedless soldier, met the whole-souled approbation of Carlyle. For

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^{1) &}quot;Shooting Riagara". miscellaneous Essays v V pp 42, 43.

^{2) &}quot;My Study Windows" p 133.



rigorous insistence on obedience was to him one of the laws of the universe, and one of the most pressing needs of society. In "Sartor Resartus" he says, "Obedience is our universal duty and destiny; wherein whose will not bend must break."

Moreover Carlyle valued highly the dependableness, unified strength and the tremendous effectiveness of a body of troops thoroughly disciplined. The army constituted a perpetual and outstanding illustration of the vast significance of Order. In his own day he declared it to be the single genuine institution. Thile despairing of parliament and dismissing from all hopeful consideration the courts, he affirms that "he of the red coat ... is a success and no failure! He will veritably, if he gets orders, draw out a long sword and kill me. No mistake there. He is a fact and not a shadow."

In his urgent advocacy of the application of military discipline and order to a general scheme of society, Carlyle took a unique position. With the ardent righteous indignation of a prophet he exposed to scorn the vanity and baseness of existing systems, and poured out upon them rebukes molten hot with his wrath. But with equal earnestness he repudiated what he regarded as quack nostrums proposed by the influential pill-doctors of his day.

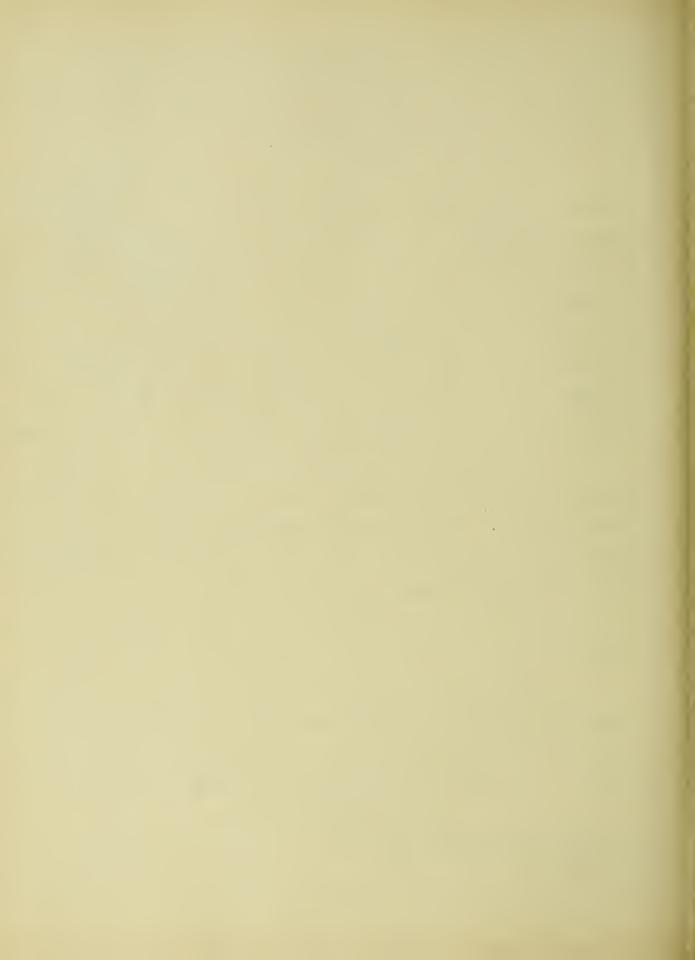
Mutation and readjustment he indeed clearly recognized as essential principles of social evolution. In "Sartor Resartus" he declares, "all things have their rise, their culmination, their decline."

He finds in the Phoenix with its ever-recurring

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¹⁾ Miscellaneous Essays v V p 133. 2) "Past and Present" p 323.

³⁾ Ibid p 169.



incineration an analogue to the "spiritual interests" of mankind, which, likewise, need often to rise with a new body from the ashes of the old.

of a purifying fire. It was not a vindication of "the rights of man"; far from that! It was a huge conflagration in which the rags and rubbish of a civilization become unjust and foul were violently consumed. He felt it to be a grand assertion from the throne of God that "all Lies have sentence of death written down against them in Heaven's Chancery itself; and slowly or fast, advance incessantly toward their hour"; and a divine proclamation of the law that "The very Truth has to change its vesture, from time to time, and be born again."

The Order which Carlyle looked and longed for was very far from being attainable by a mere buttressing and strengthening of the existing social structure. He contemned a social system in which "regulated respectable Formulas" were regarded as final tests for a political policy, or for social recognition, and in which belonging to a certain family gave the privilege of idly "preserving game" at the public cost. He despised with some bitterness the noble "gigmanity" which while belonging to the so-called ruling class, blandly looks on while its nominal subjects plunge into abysses of ignorance, and poverty, and ruin.

In "Past and Present", Carlyle exclaims, "Aristocracy has

²⁾ One of his picturesque appelations called forth by a British trial at which a witness had sought to establish the respectability of a certain individual by the statement that he drove a gig.



become Phantasm-Aristocracy, no longer able to <u>do</u> its work, not in the least conscious that it has any work longer to do. Unable, totally careless to <u>do</u> its work; careful only to clamour for the <u>wages</u> of doing its work, - nay for higher, and <u>palpably</u> undue wages, and Corn-Laws and <u>increase</u> of rents; the old rate of wages not being adequate now!

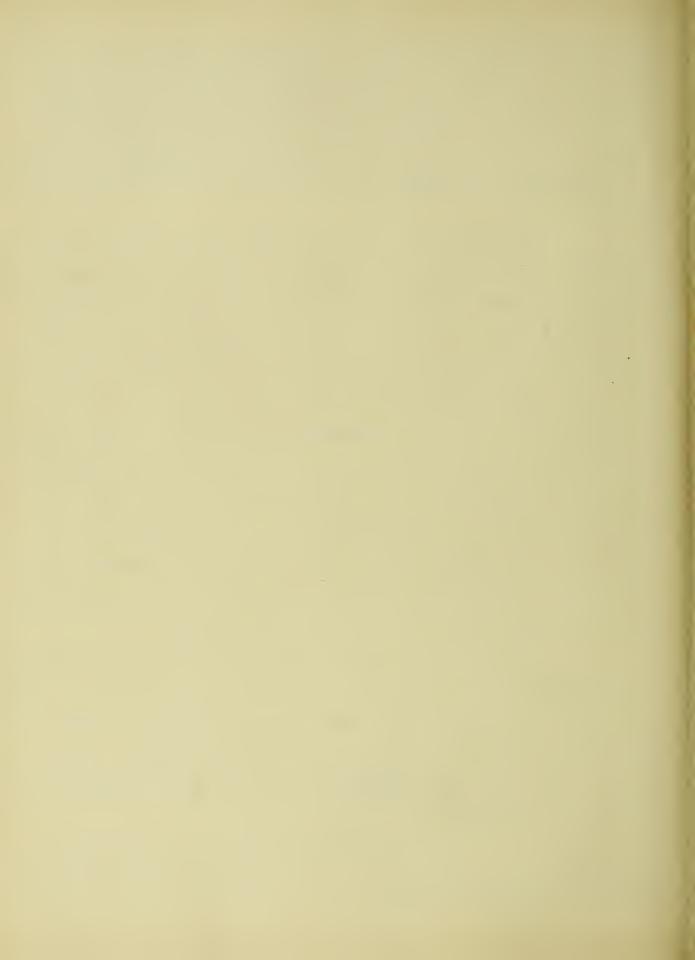
parliament and the courts, too, he by no means fully approved. Most of the electioneering, and debating and long-winded speech-making he could behold only with sorrow mixed with disgust.

"A Government such as ours," he says, "consisting of from seven to eight hundred Parliamentary Talkers, with their escort of Able Daitors and Public Opinion; and for head, certain Lords and Servants of the Treasury, and Chief Secretaries and others who find themselves at once Chiefs and No-Chiefs, and often commanded rather than commanding, - is doubtless a most complicate entity, and none of the ablest for getting on with business!"

And he deplored the fact that there were "many causes that can plead well for themselves in the Courts of Westminster; and yet in the general Court of the Universe, and free Soul of Man, have no word to utter!"

But if the Order of Carlyle's vision was not to be secured by a refurbishing of the social and political system then in operation; still less was it to be secured by an application of the democratic principles of the days of the French Revolution. Those ideas were not broad and firm foundation stones; but rocks of offense, and stones of stumbling.

¹⁾ p 174. 2) "Fast and Present" p 320.



"Fraternity, Equality and Liberty" was in his ears a worse than meaningless shibboleth.

He understood with awful clearness that all men were to a degree dependent on all others; that every individual was heir to certain common inheritances; and that in respect of our responsibility all men are our brothers. But the popular notion of brotherhood was highly repugnant to him. He said,

"In brotherhood with the base and foolish I, for one, do not mean to live ... in pity, in hope not quite swallowed of disgust - otherwise in enmity that must last through eternity; in appeasable aversion shall I have to live with these! Brotherhood? No, be the thought far from me."

Liberty, also, other than the liberty to be well and fittingly guided, was a conception obnoxious to Carlyle. The liberty to follow passion and ignorant impulse, or idolently to wander, following nothing; that is the most diabolical curse with which mortals could be blighted.

Only in perfect obedience to a just superior is there real freedom. In his own words, "That, you may depend on it, my obscure Black friends, is and was always the Law of the world, for you and for all men: To be servants, the more foolish of us to the more wise; and only sorrow, futility and disappointment will betide both, till both in some approximate degree get to conform to the same."2

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^{1) &}quot;Model Prisons." Latter Day Pamphlets p 66.
2) "The Nigger Question". Liscellaneous Essays v IV p 379.



and it is but a step from this position to the justification of slavery on the ground that the "nigger's" incapacity for higher things shows servitude to be his destiny, and complete emancipation to be a sad calamity. The believed the black man to be "a poor blockhead with good dispositions, with affections, attachments," and being such it was obvious that:

"The Almighty Maker has appointed him to be a Servant.

Under penalty of Reaven's curse, neither party to this preappointment shall neglect or misdo his duties therein; - and it is certain, he continues, that, "Servantship on the nomadic principle, at the rate of so many shillings per day, cannot be other than misdone. ... Servantship, like all solid contracts between men ... must become a contract of permanency, not easy to dissolve, but difficult extremely, - a 'contract for life'if you can manage it ...will evidently be the best of all. And this was already the Rigger's essential position." With such a view it is not to be mondered at that he ridiculed the Abolition frenzy, and thought the gain from our Civil War, paltry.

Now, if "Fraternity" and "Emancipation-principle" were to Carlyle "deep froth oceans", the most absurd and banal of all the propositions of the democratic enthusiasts was that of Equality, with its adjunct of universal suffrage.

"Let no man in particular be put at the top;" he prophesies, "let all men be accounted equally wise and worthy, and

1) "Shooting Niagara and After". Liscellaneous Essays v V pp.5,6.



the notion get abroad that anybody or nobody will do well enough at the top; that money (to which may be added success in stump oratory) is the real symbol of wisdom, and supply and demand the all-sufficient substitute for command and obedience among two-legged animals of the unfeathered class: accomplish all those remarkable convictions in your thinking department; and then in your practical, as is fit, decide by count of heads, the vote of a Demerara Nigger equal and no more to that of a Chancellor Bacon: this ... will ... give the minimum of wisdom in your proceedings."

as the basis of government would be turning the government over to "Sons of the Devil", and, therefore, establishing the 'one intolerable sort of slavery", that of the strong to the weak, of the noble to the ignoble. He argued that if "Quashee Nigger" were counted equivalent to Socrates or Shakespeare and Judas Iscariot, to Jesus Christ; then, since the Quashees and the Judas are so very much more numerous folly and sin would inevitably prevail.

It was his conviction that to grant the ballot to all men would be to confound worse the confusion already deplorably evident. It would be "the calling in of new supplies of blockheadism, gullibility, bribability, amenability to beer and balderdash, by way of amending the woes we have had from our previous supplies of that bad article."²

Government by the people, is, he contended, government by

^{1) &}quot;The Ligger Question". Liscellaneous Essays v IV pp 361, 362.
2) "Shooting Niagara: and after?" Ibid v V p 9.



swarms; and swarms are largely controlled by prepossessions and delusions, and are always ready to accept with quasi-religious conviction the stupidest absurdities."

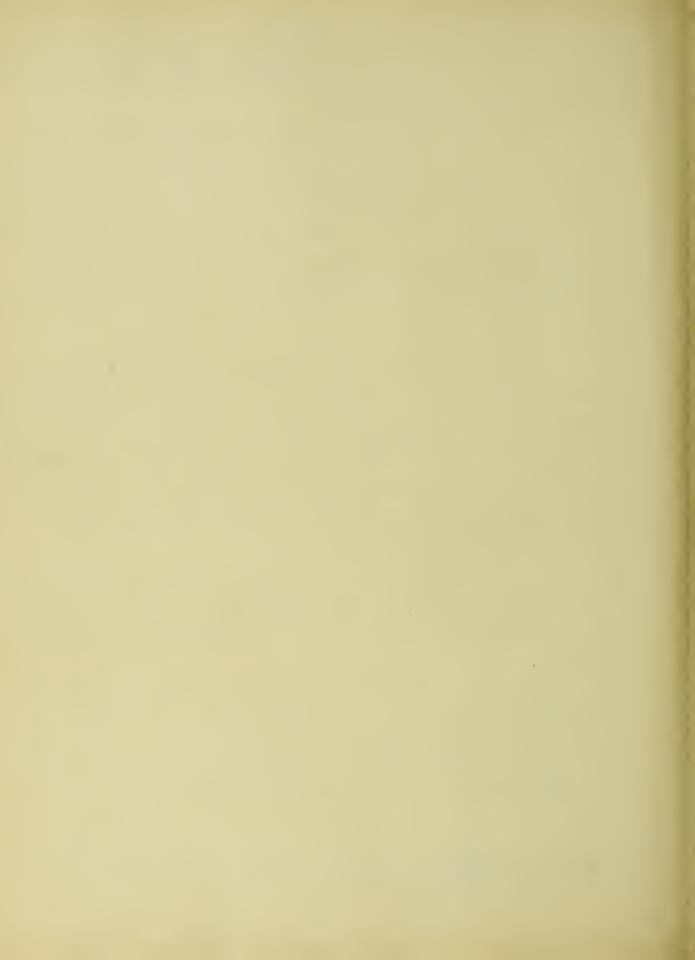
In short, the whole theory of democratic government was intolerable to Carlyle. Le saw no possibility of making it feasible, and just, by eliminating the "rose-pink sentimentality" of the early doctrinaire's. It was at odds with his entire conception of the universe and of man; it could not produce or foster Order, in the sense of properly regulated obediences. Lence he rejected democracy absolutely.

Being thoroughly dissatisfied with the old regime, and valuing the revolutionary movement only as a broom for sweeping away obstructing tatters and vestiges, Carlyle formed an ideal of his own for the erection and maintenance of a system of social and political Order. It was a paternalistic government, with the hero as supreme ruler. I shall present his scheme in the following chapter.

Kipling was influenced strongly by Carlyle's great gospel of Order. It is, likewise, one of his foremost tenets that a system in which obedience shall be the cementing principle is the ideal for society.

Erian Hooker says, "Er. Kirling has told us but this one story of the victory of organization over anarchy." And that is true; most of Kipling's poems, and short stories do herald the triumph of rigid Order - order made possible by obedience.

^{1) &}quot;Shooting Liagara: and After?" Liscellaneous Essays v V p 4.
2) "The Later Work of Mr. Ripling". North American Review. v 102
pp 721-732.



When M'Andrew's seven thousand horse-power engines pulsed out their lesson and his it was the lesson that Carlyle had taught, and which Kipling is teaching after him:

"Law, Orrder, Duty, an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline".1

Obedience, which is the keynote of Carlyle's conception of Order, is treated by Kipling as the most essential virtue for an important enterprise, and for a sound social structure.

Ripling is singing of the laws of the Jungle when he says, "But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is - Obey" 2

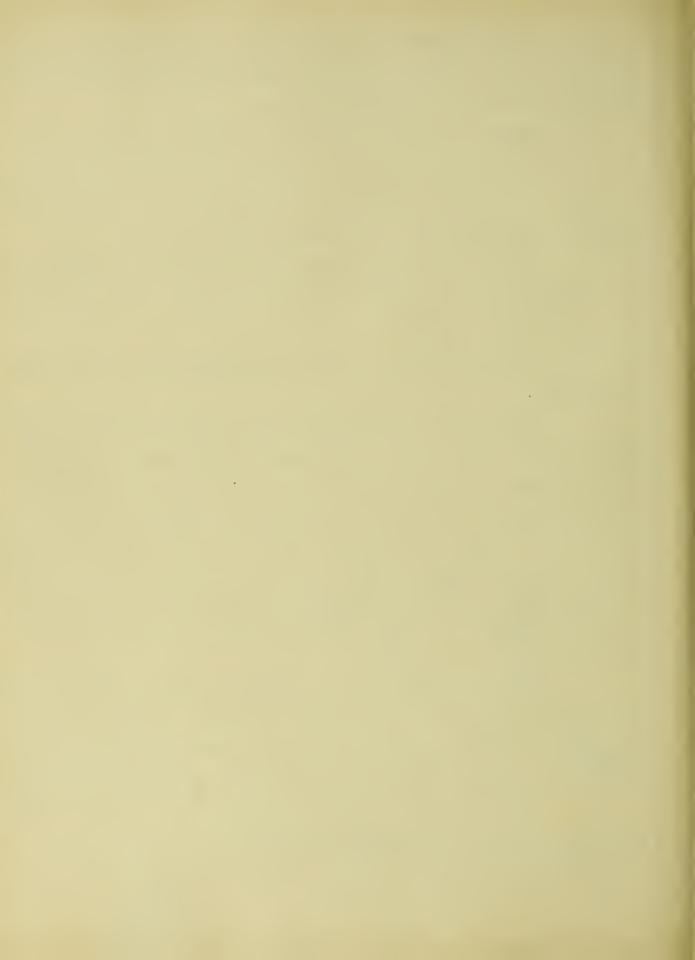
but he is stating a principle which he believes has a vastly wider application.

With Carlyle, Ripling not only admires the military system in its war function, but also thinks it applicable to all the associated activities of men. Drill, he shows, in stories unconnected with war, is the means of developing reliable, sure and efficient men. It was, for instance, because of the rigorous training he was obliged to submit to that the hero of "Captains Courageous", changed from a soft, shallow, impudent scapegrace into a resolute, promising youth.

And like Carlyle, too, he proposes that all young men shall be obliged to enter upon actual definite military drill. He insists that the security of the nation depends on the intelligent, serious drilling of their own young men for defense. He warns the Islanders

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¹⁾ M'Andrew's Hymn". Collected Verse p 41. 2) Stanze at the Opening of "Jungle Book" v 2.



of a dismal catastrophe in their 'life so long untroubled" if they rely for the protection of the empire upon hirelings and the sons of their younger colonies. Kipling's ideal for the preservation of the empire is to have "each man born in the Island broke to the matter of war. Soberly and by custom taken and trained for the same; ... entered at youth to the game ... not to be mastered in haste, But after trial and labor, by temperance, living chaste."

It is a matter of common knowledge that Kipling is an enthusiastic advocate of the army with its wonderfully adjusted and sustained order, and its iron discipline. His confidence in its effectiveness in developing the rugged virtues is if anything less limited than Carlyle's.

"The young recruit is silly" he explains, and often enters the army rather more of a scamp than a man,

"But day by day they kicks 'im, which 'elps 'im on a bit Till 'e finds 'isself one mornin' with a full an' proper kit.

"Gettin' clear o' dirtiness, gettin' done with mess,

Gettin' shut o' doin' things rather more-or-less;

Not so fond of abby-nay (not now), kul (to-morrow)

nor hazar-ho (wait a bit),

Learns to keep 'is rifle an' 'isself jus' so!"

And when the stiff training he receives fits him to be an officer,

" - 'e learns to make men like 'im so they'll learn to like their work"

"An' when it comes to action ...

x * * * x * * x * *

1) "Islanders". Collected Verse p 204.



'E feels 'is innards 'eavin, 'is bowels givin' way; 'E sees the blue-white faces all tryin' 'ard to grin, An' 'e stands an' waits an' suffers till it's time to cap 'em in.

"'E's just as sick as they are, 'is 'eart is like to split, But 'e works 'em, works 'em till he feels 'em take the bit; The rest is 'oldin' steady till the watchful bugles play, An' 'e lifts 'em, lifts 'em, lifts 'em through the charge that wins the day."1

Such is the triumph in character building assigned by Kipling to drill. The discipline of the army cultivates and clerishes, respect for order, and obedience, primarily and supremely. It developes neatness, exactness, punctiliousness, attentiveness, endurance, self-control, firmness, fortitude, perseverance, patience, and courage; these and other stern manly qualities. And Ripling seems often to repeat, "And the greatest of these is obedience."

Again and again Hipli.g dilutes upon the magnificent sureness with which the soldier is forced to obey, and on the disastrous effects of imperfect discipline. The screw-guns chant:

"If a man doesn't work why we drills 'im 'an teaches 'im 'ow to behave; If a beggar can't march, why, we kills 'im an' rattles 'im into 'is grave. You've got to stand up to our pusiness an' spring without snatchin' or fuss. D'you say that you sweat with the field-guns? By God you must lather with us. Iss! Iss!"2

And this is the way he has Tommy Atkins explain a disorderly retreat:

"We was rotten fore we started - we was never disciplined; We made it out a favor if, an order was obeyed; Yes, every little drummer 'ad 'is rights an' wrongs to mind, So we had to pay for leachin' - an' we paid!"

We was put to groomin' camels till the regiments withdrew."3

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3) "That Day". Ibid p 311.

^{1) &}quot;The 'Eathen". Collected Verse p. 326. 2) "Screw Guns". Collected Verse p 269.



In his praise of the Drill Sergeant, too, hipling follows Carlyle, like him valuing that official for his order - making function. In "Only a Subaltern" one of the officers remarks, "'tisn't the best drill, though drill is almost everything, that hauls a regiment through hell and out the other side. It's the man who knows how to handle men - goat-men, swine-men, dog-men, and so on."1

Another tribute to the drillmaster contains these verses:

"It was neither Hindustani, French, nor Coptics;
It was odds and ends and leavings of the same,
Translated by a stick (which is really half the trick),

"And it's wrong and bad and dangerous to boast.

But he did it on the cheap and on the quiet,

And he's not allowed to forward any claim
Though he drilled a black man white, though he

made a munmy fight,

He will still continue Sergeant Thatisname
Frivate, Corporal, Color-Sergeant, and Instructor
But the everlasting miracle's the same!"2

But Kipling adopts Carlyle's faith in Order made possible by obedience in its wider aspects as well as in its connection with "the fighting purpose". He believes in Order as the ideal for society. And his conception of Order is like Carlyle's. He, too, is neither a conforming Tory, nor a believer in democracy.

In the social and governmental system of the present he observes much that is false and ruinous. He heartily concurs in Carlyle's abhorrence for "old clothes". Artificial distinctions and empty forms are loathsome to him. And gother requirements for the

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2) "Fharaoh and the Sergeant". Collected Verse pp 111, 112.

^{1) &}quot;Soldiers Three" p 99. The epithets applied to men are strikingly Carlylese.



man

"Who is his Nation's sacrifice
To turn the judgement from the race,"

he includes these:

"The fatted shows werein he stood Foregoing, and the idiot pride, That he may prove with his own blood All that his easy sires denied -

"He shall forswear and put away
The idols of his sheltered house."

The Order Kipling has a vision of will be no more of a solidifying of the system that now is, with all its vanity and unreason, than that which Carlyle desired. In his somewhat harsh satire on "The Old Men", he ridicules the ultra-conservative attitude:

"We shall not acknowledge that old stars fade or alien planets arise

Or any new compass wherewith men adventure 'neath new skies." And in his pleasing fable, "Below the mill Dam", he shows that the "Spirit of the Mill" has to accommodate itself to the transposition from the antique wheel to "a couple of turbines."

The current notion that an Englishman with a title is necessarily fit for situations of control is absurd in his eyes. He refuses to consider "the gold on his breeks" a sufficient evidence of ability. His scorn of nominal rulers who neglected the nation's interests is comparable to Carlyle's. This appears especially in "The Islanders":

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2) Ibid p 214.

¹⁾ The Reformers". Collected Verse pp 212, 213.

^{3) &}quot;Traffics and Discoveries".



"So! And ye train your horses and the dogs ye feed and prize?

How are the beasts more worthy than the souls you sacrifice?"

And frequently in both poems and stories he takes a fling at the smug ignorance on the part of the government of the actual circumstances and difficulties of the subjects. He is not at all satisfied with the organization now existing in the British Empire.

Nevertheless, Kipling, though desirous of seeing altered the structure of society, is thoroughly antagonistic to the democratic ideal.

In the sense that all men are, as Carlyle says, "sons of Adam" he, too, would agree that all men are brothers. But to press any claims of fraternal relationship between "Lubshee" and the Englishman would presumably appear to him as preposterous as the assertion that "Quashee" was his brother did to Carlyle.

And following his master, he not only recognizes the absurdity of alleging that all men are in physical, moral or spiritual qualities equal; but he also denies that any individual has any inherent rights. No man is justified he would say in demanding privileges and opportunities equal to those of other men. He borrows even Carlyle's favorite terminology in inveighing against this conception.

"Yes, every little drummer 'ad 'is <u>rights</u> and <u>wrongs</u> to mind", he says explaining the retreat; and "The Len That Fought at Linden", 2

"Fever didn't talk o' rights an' wrongs."

^{1) &}quot;That Day". Collected Verse p 311. (Underscoring is my own).
2) Ibid p. 312.



Kipling's idea is the same as Carlyle's on this point, that the reality, the thing to be considered is the duty, only the duty.

For the democratic conception of liberty, likewise, he had no use in his social Order. His opinion is that the assurance of reaping what he has sown, and of being firmly guided by those more able than he constitutes man's true freedom.

That all men should be permitted a voice in their own control, by means of the ballot appears to him instead of a thing to be desired, a subversion of Order. While he makes "the American Spirit" express confidence that she should save the American, "at the last", he has the Spirit admit that at present the American is enslaved, illogical, elate", taking "the Law he flouts", and flouting "the Law he makes". In America there is liberty, as an ideal; and in America there is disorder.

According to Kipling as well as Carlyle, servitude, also, is not necessarily a defect in the social scheme. Provided only there is justice in punishing, and in maintaining, the position of servant is what some mortals must expect. It is all they are fit for. Kipling was expressing deepest principles then he wrote this dialogue in his remarkable allegory, "The Walking Delegate":

"But did you never stop to consider the degradin' servitood of it all?" said the yellow horse.

"You don't stop on the Delt, cully. You're stopped. An' we was all in de servitood business, man an' horse, an' Ji...my dat sold

^{1) &}quot;An American". Ibid pp 99, 58.

^{2) &}quot;The Day's Work" p 66.



papers. Guess de passengers wordn't out to grass neither, by de way dey acted. ..."

"But can it be possible that with your experience, and at your time of life, you do not believe that all horses are free and equal?" said the yellow horse.

"Not till they're dead", muldoon answered quietly. "An' den it depends on de gross total o' buttons an' mucilage day gits outer youse at Barren Island."

And like Carlyle, Kipling points out the fact that there is likelihood that emancipation is more of a curse than a blessing. Says "The Galley Slave",

"I am free - to watch my messmates beating out to open main,
Free of all that Life can offer - save to handle sweep again.
By the brand upon my shoulder, by the gall of clinging steel,
By the welt the whips have left me, by the scars that never
heal;

By eyes grown old with staring through the sunwash on the brine,

I am paid in full for service - would that service still were mine!"2

Now it is evident that Ripling has been influenced by Carlyle in this doctrine of Order. It has been seen that Ripling follows Carlyle in the belief that a social structure of which obedience is the comenting principle is the ideal mode of social organization; that Ripling declares with him that the military system with its drill and discipline is the type of Order, and is moreover, with its skillful drill-sergeants a highly praiseworthy system in

^{1) &}quot;The Day's Work" p 66.

^{2) &}quot;The Galley Slave". Departmental Ditties p 167.



itself because it produces not only efficient means of offense and defense, but notably because it produces sterling, trustworthy, loyal men; that whereas decay and corruption necessitates an abandonment of former social arrangements and modes of covernment, yet democracy instead of filling the vacancy left by the discarded and discredited forms would be not futile only but demoralizing.

It now becomes the question for our consideration: "What is the nature of the Order, based on obedience, which the respective authors would propose; and in how far are the details of Hipling's ideal derived from Carlyle's?



V Paternalism.

We have learned that Hipling accepts Carlyle's doctrine that the ideal for society is a state of Order, analogous to the military system, the cohesive force of which shall be obedience. The exact nature of such Order seems problematical on account of the sponsors' dissatisfaction with the established conditions as well as their repudiation of democracy.

But, to turn first to Carlyle, it was the insincerity, the absence of earnestness and veracity, which made society and government hideous in the eyes of the sham and semblance - nating Carlyle. With one conception of monarchy and aristocracy he was satisfied. Indeed he was religiously devoted to it; for the voice of history and the inner voice clearly told him that was God's way.

That vision of Order which Carlyle saw as an ever present mirage over all the world, and which he hoped, with confidence gradually diminishing, might one day photograph itself upon our earth and be fixed forever, was that order in which the hero should rule supreme, interpreting and enforcing the divine will, and all men should be worshipfully obedient to him, each in his proper degree.

Alone, the hero, were he never so powerful and never so perfectly receptive to inspiration, could not cause absolute justice to prevail. He would need many subordinate great men to whom his word should be inflexible decree, and who, in turn, should rule absolutely all those to whom the monarch appointed them. They



likewise would give authority to their most powerful subjects. And so society should become justly regulated. All men would be under the direction of those to whom they, being inferior, naturally looked for guidance. And every individual from king to horse, as Carlyle expresses it, would be in his God-appointed sphere.

With society once adjusted so to the divine plan, the duty of the hero, and of all the governors would be to execute the laws of the universe. It would be their difficult and engrossing concern to insure the unfailing prevalence of exact justice.

"What is the end of Government?" asked Carlyle, "To guide men in the way wherein they should go; towardstheir true good in this life, the portal of infinite good in the life to come? To guide men in such a way, and ourselves in such a way, as the Maker of men, whose eye is upon us, will sanction at the Great Day?" His answer was a pronounced affirmative.

To make such spiritual guidance possible and effectual, material circumstances would have to be improved. Each man must be guaranteed the due recompence of his acts. The man of genius, power, or ability must be given recognition and set on high to be reverently obeyed by all inferior to him; or, if he be only prophet and not best suited for ruling, to be worshipfully listened to by all as a teacher sent from God.

Moreover the ordinary man in no matter how subordinate a rank must have insured to him "'A fair day's wages for a fair day's

1) "Past and Present" pp 206, 207.



work'": for "it is as just a demand as Governed men ever made of Governing. It is the everlasting right of man, Indisputable as Gospels, as arithmetical multiplication-tables: it must and will have itself fulfilled."

Carlyle was acutely sensible of the distress of the submerged millions in his day, and he declared over and over that their sufferings must be alleviated. The charge of the community to those governing he said was, "See that the shirts are well apportioned, that our Human Laws be emblem of God's Laws."

his ideal was to have the hero with all his governing officials lead their drilled and disciplined, compact order of society in a campaign of extermination against pauperism, oppression unwholesome sanitary conditions, misery, squalor and ignorance.

Lere is his own fiery ejaculation:

"O Heavens, if we saw an army ninety-thousand strong maintained and fully equipped, in continual real action and battle against Human Starvation, against Chaos, Necessity, Stupidity, and our real 'natural enemies', what a business were it! Fighting and molesting not 'the French', ... but fighting and incessantly spearing down and destroying Falsehood, Nescience, Delusion, Disorder, and the Devil and his Angels!"

The fight against ignorance, nescience is the crowning act of society. In it the hero and all the great men must sacrifice much, and to it they must dedicate their all; for education is the

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^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 24.

²⁾ Ibid p 213.

³⁾ Ibid p 325.



means of letting God's light into men's hearts and so into the world. It is the final process in the guidance of men to "good in this life", and "infinite good in the life to come".

"To impart the gift of thinking to those who cannot think, and yet who could in that case think: this", says Carlyle, "one would imagine, was the first function a government had to set about discharging. Were it not a cruel thing to see, in any province of an empire the inhabitants living all mutilated in their limbs, each strong man with his strong right arm lamed? How much crueller to find the strong soul, with its eyes still sealed, its eyes extinct so that it sees not! ... The grand 'seed field of Time is this man's, and you give it him not. ... Heavier wrong is not done under the sun."

Education has, also, a purely practical function which is vitally important. "Education is not only an eternal duty, but has at length become even a temporary and ephemeral one, which the necessities of the hour will oblige us to look after." The peace of society depends on enabling all men to think and act rationally and sanely.

Meanwhile before education has had time to leaven the whole lump, and in so far as certain individuals are obdurate, the hero and his government must oblige men not only to conduct themselves in a seemly manner, but also to act righteously in their more intimate personal lives. He voices the unconscious plea of the erring man in these words:

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2) Ibid p. 194.

^{1) &}quot;Chartism". Liscellaneous Essays pp. 192, 193.



"O, if thou really art my Senior, Seigneur, my Elder, Presbyter or Priest, - if thou are in very deed my Wiser, may a beneficent instinct lead and impel thee to 'conquer' me, to command If thou do know better than I what is good and right, I conme! jure thee in the name of God, force me to do it; were it by never such brass collars, whips and handcuffs, leave me not to walk over precipices!"1

The man who has any capability of service, decency and obedience in him deserves guidance, even compulsion. If instead of giving that the hero should allow him to pursue his downward course with "freedom" he would be inflicting upon him the most fatal curse possible. But if the governors cannot "persuade, - urge, induce, compel" him into "something of welldoing ... then for him (I can assure you though you will be shocked to hear it) the one 'blessing' left is the speediest gallows you can lead him to." All men outside of Bedlam are, according to Carlyle, divisible into two classes: those who can be lookedupon as "a real man and consequently not without moral worth, which is to be enlightened, and so far approved of"; and those who deserve the judgment, "a vicious dog in man's guise, to be muzzled and mourned over, and greatly marvelled at." Always the bad, evil-working man must be muzzled. one way to effect the extirpation of the obnoxious member of society is by banishment. Eut if he is indeed a violent menace to all the world the duty of government is to execute him. Thus shall the element of disorder be eliminated.

[&]quot;Past and Fresent" pp 263, 264.
"Shooting Niagara". Miscellane
"Voltaire". Ibid v I p 406. Miscellaneous Essays v V p 8.



However, one great obstacle to the establishment of a just, harmonious order exists - in the fact of an overcrowded population. The problem received the earnest consideration of Carlyle, and he kept repeating the solution which he thought entirely obviated the difficulty. His plan was to equip the surplus population with things needful for a pioneer existence and send them forth to build up colonies in the less thickly settled regions of the earth. He says:

"Why should there not be an 'Emigration Service', and Secretary, with adjuncts, with funds, forces, idle Favy-ships, an ever-increasing apparatus; in fine an effective system of Emigration; so that ... every honest willing Workman who found England too strait ... might find a bridge built to carry him into new Western Lands ... There to be a real blessing, raising new corn for us." Ind again:

"Canadian Forests stand unfelled, boundless Plains and Prairies unbroken with the plough; on the west and on the east green desert spaces never yet made white with corn; and to the overcrowded little western nook of Europe, our Terrestrial Planet, nine-tenths of it yet vacant or tenanted by nomades, is still crying, Come and till me, come and reap me!" This invitation is extended to England, "With trained men, educated to pen and practice, to administer and act; briefless Earristers ... With as many Half-pay officers of both Services, wearing themselves down in wretched tedium, as might lead an Emigrant host larger than Merxes' was." And once more:

^{1) &}quot;Past and Fresent" p 330.

^{2) &}quot;Chartism". Miscellaneous Essays v IV p 203.



"How thick stands your Fopulation in the Tampas and Savannas of America; round ancient Carthage, and in the interior of Africa; on both sides of the Altaic chain, in the central Platform of Asia, ...? ... Alas, where now are the Hengsts and Alaric's of our still-glowing, still-expanding Europe; who when their home is grown too narrow, will enlist, and, like Fire-pillars, guide onwards those superfluous masses of indomitable living Valor; equipped, not now with the battle-axe and war chariot, but with the steam-engine and plough-share?"

Who shall say that this recommendation of Carlyle's to send out colonizing companies to Canada, the Interior of Africa, round ancient Carthage, the central Platform of Asia and elsewhere, to relieve congestion in England, to make fruitful the barren regions and to return to the homeland the spoils of their labor does not furnish a wide basis for such a policy of Imperialism as that of which Rudyard Kipling is the laureate:

This stanza from "The Song of the Dead", shows how close is the connection:

"Te were dreamers, dreating greatly in the man-stifled town;
We yearned beyond the sky-line where the strange roads go down.
Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the heed
Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent us to lead.
As the deer breaks - as the steer breaks - from the herd where
they graze,

In the faith of little children we went on our ways.

Then the wood failed - then the food failed - then the last water dried -

In the faith of little children we lay down and died.

On the sand-drift - on the veldt-side - in the fern-scrub we lay,

杂 包 花 花 花 水 水 水 环 茶 茶

^{1) &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 173.



That our sons might follow after by the bones on the way. Follow after - follow after! We have watered the root, And the bud has come to blossom that ripens for fruit! Follow after - we are waiting by the trails that we lost, For the sounds of many footsteps, for the tread of a host. Follow after - follow after - for the harvest is sown:

By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own."

Already we have seen that Carlyle expressed before Ripling the idea that the fact of might demonstrates the right of conquest, and that therefore England did the only moble thing when she subdued India. Those readers of Carlyle who dispute the assertion that he enunciated the ground doctrine of imperialism cannot have read with open minds certain pages of "Past and Present" already cited, and scattered passages bearing the same implication in others of his writings.

It is in Kipling's stories and poems referring to the government of the colonies of the empire that we find that he, too, finds in a paternalistic government the adequate embodiment of Order.

Although Ripling, as I have said, does not indulge much in theorizing either about philosophy and morals or about government; yet he does give abundant evidence of accepting Carlyle's doctrine that the ablest man should have supreme power and that the degree of authority of each individual should be proportionate to his ability.

For the task of establishing order among the subject races he calls out "the best ye breed". And in story and poem the men whom he presents as principals in the great order-founding enterprise are men of regal, heroic type such as Carlyle would have delighted to see in positions of authority.

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1) "The Song of the Dead". Collected Verse p 87.



And Kipling's conception of the things to be done by the governors for the creation and perpetuation of Order is like that of Carlyle. What might be termed the theme of his entire opera of British Imperialism is in these verses from "A Song of the English":

"Keep ye the Law - be swift in all obedience - Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford, Lake ye sure to each his own That he reap where he has sown;

Therein we have clearly stated the doctrine that the keeping of the Law is the primary requisite; and the doctrine that one purpose of government is to give to every man exactly his deserts; and the doctrine that government must be engaged in systematically improving material circumstances; and finally, the doctrine that order maintained in harmony is a living witness to the religious devotion of those ruling.

The idea most frequently reiterated by Kipling in connection with this paternalistic imperialism is this: that the governors must purge out the evil and ingraft the fit, the wholesome, the useful and the good. They must wage interminable war against suffering, poverty, and ignorance.

In the following words he commends the father of one of his finest characters:

"Fapa Wick has been a commissioner in his day, holding authority over three millims of men in the Chota-Buldana Division, building great works for the good of the land, and doing his best to make two blades of grass grow where there was but one before."

Collected Verse. p 84.
 "Only a Subaltern". "Soldiers Three". The last phrase has a hauntingly Carlylese flavor.



And in "The White Man's Burden", this idea of Carlyle's that the governor must be in the fullest sense a minister, finds rather elaborate expression:

"Take up the White Man's burden The savage wars of peace Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;

"Take up the White Man's burden No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go make them with your living,
And mark them with your dead."1

In his inspiring story "William the Conqueror", Kipling presents four admirable characters - Sir "Jim" Hawkins, and "Lady Jim", and Dick, and William - all making untold sacrifices, and encountering critical risks, unflinchingly, for the sake of relieving the horrible suffering in the famine district; carrying food and medicine over long, scorching roads, and providing care and milk for scores of helpless babies.

Such wearing, even killing devotion Ripling regards as demanded of the governors of the country in which Order is to be wrought from confusion. In his tale "On the City Wall" he wrote:

"Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first firing line which is called the Indian Civil Service. These die or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death

^{1) &}quot;The White Man's Burden". Collected Verse p 216.
2) "The Day's Work".



and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone."

Moreover Kipling follows Carlyle in recognizing distinctly the great necessity of education in establishing order. To be sure he has ridicule for some of the subjects and methods in the English schools for Indians; but he, one the less, holds wise education to be really essential. In "Litchener's School", purporting to be a translation of a poem by a Mohammedan, he expressed by implication, this belief:

"He does not desire as ye desire, nor devise as ye devise:
He is preparing a second host - an army to make you wise.
"Hot at the mouth of his clean-lipped gums shall ye learn his name again,
But letter by letter from Kaf to Kaf, at the mouth of his

chosen men.

"Knowing that ye are forfeit by battle and have no right to live He begs for money to bring you learning - and all the English give.

It is their treasure - it is their pleasure - thus are their hearts inclined.

Behold, they clap a slave on the back, and behold, he ariseth a man!

They terribly carnet the earth with their dead, and before the cannon cool

They walk unarmed by twos and threes to call the living to school

"Certainly they were mad from of old: but I think one new thing, That the magic whereby they work their magic - wherefrom their fortunes spring -

May be that they show all peoples their magic and ask no price in return."2

"Behold, they clap a slave on the back, and behold, he ariseth a man."

^{1) &}quot;Indian Tales".

²⁾ Collected Verse pp 114, 115.



These words show traces of Carlyle's idea that the order-producing function of government extends to deliberately attempting to form the character of the individual. The idea is more plainly voiced in the chant of the city of Sydney in "The Song of the Cities":

Forcing strong wills perverse to steadfastness": In an address to the students of McGill University he expressed in words astonishingly Carlylese this belief that the wrong-doer needs to be set right from without even though his offense may be chiefly to himself. He said:

"Greeting! My birth-stain have I turned to good;

"Thenever you see any of your mates showing signs of "smartness" in his work, his talk, or his play, take him by the hand or both hands, or by the back of the neck if necessary, and lovingly playfully, but firmly lead him to a knowledge of higher and more interesting things."²

In his doctrine of paternalistic imperialism, I may now say, Kipling shows clearly the influence to carlyle. The army of colonization of which Carlyle had prevision, he shows, now, nobly working. And in uttering the ideal for the activity of this force of order-forming governors Kipling applies the same paternalistic ideas which Carlyle formulated in his autempts to call forth a sounder Order in England. He believes that men of power should control, the ablest and strongest of all being over all. "Keeping the Law" - the eternal law - he says, with Carlyle, is the primary requisite of government. And one of the foremost ways of keeping the

²⁾ Reported in Outlook for January 11, 1908.



Law is by insuring to every man that he shall reap what he has sown. But, like Carlyle, Ripling says to do that is not enough; poverty, suffering, hunger, and ignorance must be combatted and overcome. And the spiritual well-being of the subjects must be, will be, subserved by the casting cut of ignorance and the dissemination of education. But the poet of imperialism agrees with his master that the governors must not merely give their subjects light, and lead and guide them in orderly ways, but in case of perverse and disobedient members of society there must also be compulsion. In fine, Kipling embodies Carlyle's Paternalism of the Hero in his gospel of imperialism.

In the chapter following we shall compare Hipling's and Carlyle's views of the hero.



Now let us attempt to secure a concrete and clear perception of what sort of beings they are upon whom the establishment and maintenance of the divinely appointed Order depends.

Of what stuff are made these heroic men whom "the world has to obey", who make their chaos-quelling transit through this world "escorted by the Terrors and the Splendors, the Archdemons and Archangels?".1

Our answers to this query, from Carlyle and from Ripling, are very much alike. From what has been set forth of the conceptions of the world and of the ideals for society enunciated by our two authors much could be deduced as to their requirements of the king, and his force of governors and teachers. But for the definiteness of our understanding of their conceptions their explicit statements are valuable.

Carlyle says, "Great Men are inspired (speaking and acting) Texts of that divine Book of Revelations, whereof a Chapter is completed from epoch to epoch, and by some named History." Elsewhere he asks, "what other Work of Art is so divine?" 3

But we are not dependent upon rhapsodies for the completeness and vividness of our mental portrait of Carlyle's hero. He has many times deliberately drawn that portrait, sharply accentuating the distinguishing features, just as he so brilliantly did with historic personages. And, what is also

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^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 360.

^{2) &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 134.

³⁾ Ibid p168.

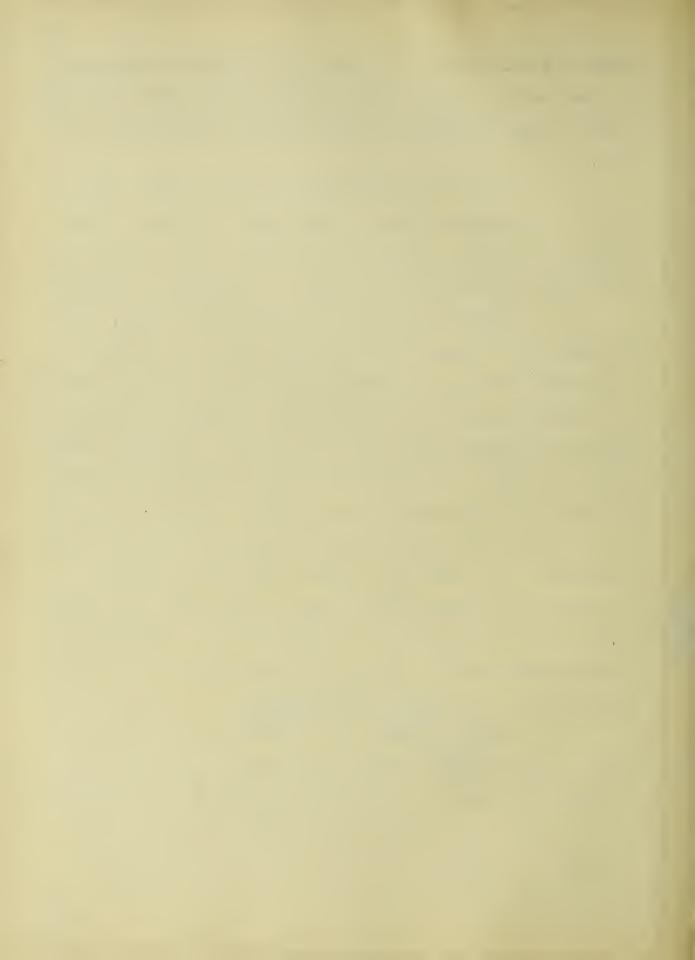


helpful in making real to us his idea, he has pointed out and held our scrutiny upon a number of historic persons whose characters embody in greater or less fullness the qualities of the hero.

The three distinguishing features of the hero are insight, sincerity and valor. Associated with, and, in the judgment of Carlyle, inseparable from these attributes are all other powers and virtues discernible or desirable in the hero.

Insight is the power of seeing into things. It is
the gift which enables the genius promptly to select the
significant factors of a complex situation, to analyze accurately
the confused phases of his environment, to detect infallibly the
meaning of phenomena presented to his view. Therefore insight
implies intensity of intellectual vision sufficient to decipher
unerringly the divine laws of the universe inscribed in relief
on the adamant of nature and written large on the page of human
experience. In "Chartism" Carlyle makes this assertion:
"insight is the discernment of order in disorder; it is the discovery of the will of Nature, of God's will." And in its most
perfect manifestation, insight is so transcendent as to enable the
seer to attain communion with the Infinite.

Carlyle's ideal hero - if not all of his actual heroes - was supremely reverent and highly responsive to the transcendental voice. In the prophet's own words, "The Hero



is he who lives in the inward sphere of things, in the True,
Divine and Eternal, which exists always, unseen to most, under
the Temporary, Trivial: his being is in that; he declares that
abroad, by act or speech as it may be."

This spiritual responsiveness to the Soul of the Universe, this quick receptivity to the divine impressions is the reason for the exaltation of the hero to the highest throne. He being most susceptible to the heavenly guidance is therefore best able to guide rightly his more obtuse subjects. "In all men", Carlyle declares, is the divine presence "dim, potential." But "in this man it has become clear, actual." By this however Carlyle does not mean that the insight of the hero is the capacity for falling into ecstatic trances, or that his mind is that of a traditional mystic. It is hard, vital truths applicable to daily life, secular as well as spiritual, that the hero achieves by means of his insight. The wondrous laws of the universe of which he becomes conscious are severe laws of justice; the laws which we have seen Carlyle would have executed by the paternalistic government.

Carlyle's hero was the man with clear and penetrating discernment. He found in Frederick the Great "sharpness of steady eyesight like the lynxes, like the eagles," and that he

^{1) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 207.

^{?) &}quot;Past and Present" p 361.

^{3) &}quot;History of Frederick the Great" IV p 211.



very seldom believed a lie." That was the insight of the hero whom Carlyle lauded as "the Last of the Kings." Sincerely did Carlyle believe that such insight was made possible by the presence of the Divine Spirit with "this young king"; but it was insight entirely free from conscious religiousness. Thus Carlyle describes the quality:

"For he is full of silent finesse, this young King; soon sees into his man, and can lead him strange dances on occasion. In no man is there a plentifuller vein of cunning, nor of a finer kind. Lynx eyed perspicacity, inexhaustible contrivance, prompt ingenuity, - a man very dangerous to play with at games of skill. And it is cunning regulated always by a noble sense of honor, too; (With all respect to the shade of the wonderful Scotchman, I think he is matching his man with his pattern and looking hard at the model right here) instinctively abhorrent of attorneyism and the swindler element; a cunning, sharp as the vulpine, yet always strictly human, which is rather beautiful to see. ... Intellect sun-clear, wholly practical (need not be specially deep), - and entirely loyal to the fact before it."2 And, once more, he praises this faculty of immediate, sharp perception of the essential points, and shrewd action based thereon:

"Truly you will find his finesse is a very fine thing; and that it consists, not in deceiving other people, but

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2) Ibid v V p 106.

¹⁾ Frederick the Great v IV p 362.



in being right himself; in well discerning, for his own behoof, what the facts before him are; and in steering ... by monition of the same. No salvation but in the facts. Facts are a kind of divine thing to Friedrich; much more so than to common men; this is essentially what religion I have found in Friedrich."

So outwardly and practically the insight of the hero is vigorous and alert intellectual power. Most of Carlyle's heroes were men of original genius, men with marked capacity for "invention", and extreme sensitiveness to facts. In the essay on "The Hero as Man of Letters", he expressly refers to the hero as "the man of intellect". He says,

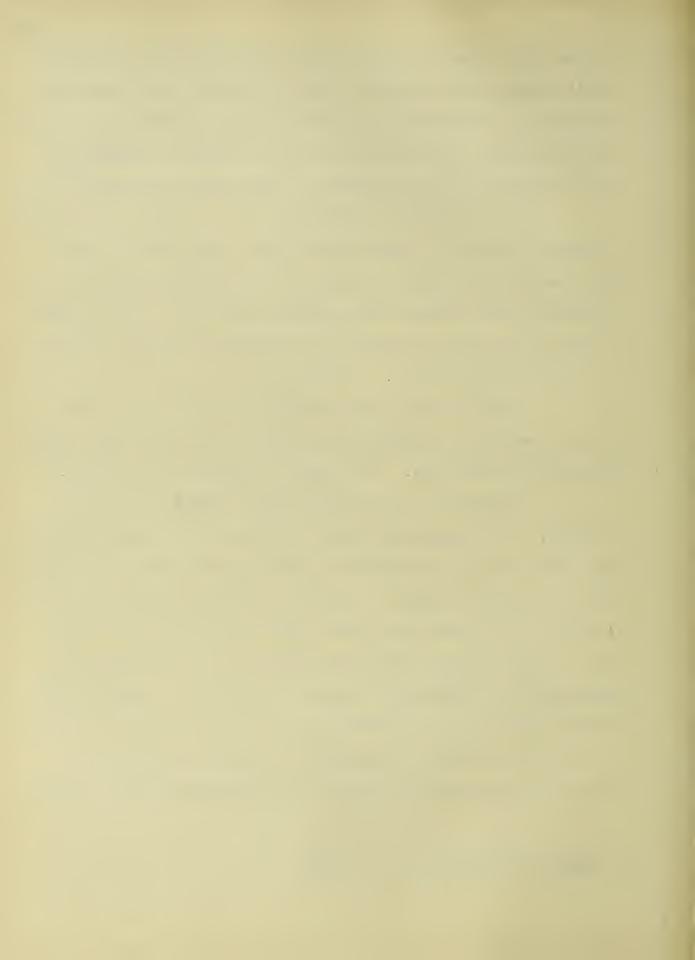
"For the man of true intellect, as I assert and believe always, is the noble hearted man withal, the true, just, humane, and valiant man. Get him for governor, all is got."2

Of the hero the second signal characteristic is sincerity. Its separation from the quality of insight is naturally no more distinct than that in the spectrum between faintest violet and deepest indigo. A man of profound insight discovers the folly of dissimulation; and a man whose mind is so kinetic and at the same time so free of boundaries as to be perfectly sincere can be relied upon to have deep insight. That is why Carlyle's definitions of sincerity include much of what he hints at in his definitions of insight. Sincerity, for Carlyle, includes earnest open-mindedness, and stringent adherence to the

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¹⁾ Frederick the Great v IV pp 215, 216.

^{2) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 225.



Hebrew conception of justice, and to the facts of experience.

In his discussion of Johnson he states the idea succinctly:

"The man whom Nature has appointed to great things is, first of all, furnished with that openness to Nature which renders him incapable of being insincere! To his large, open, deepfeeling heart Nature is a Fact: all hearsay is hearsay; the unspeakable greatness of this Mystery of Life, let him acknowledge it or not, nay even though he seem to forget it or deny it, it is ever present to him, - fearful and wonderful, on this hand and on that."

Again, in "The Hero as Prophet", he shows what he means by sincerity as a prerequisite for the hero. "But of a Great Man especially, of him I will venture to assert that it is incredible he should have been other than true. It seems to me the primary foundation of him, and of all that can lie in him, this. No Mirabeau, Napoleon, Burns, Cromwell, no man adequate to do anything, but is first of all in right earnest about it; what I call a sincere man. I should say sincerity, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic. ... the great man does not boast himself sincere, ... his sincerity does not depend on himself; he cannot help being sincere! The great Fact of Existence is great to him. Fly as he will, he cannot get out of the awful presence of this Reality."²

^{1) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 241. 2) Ibid p 62.



But, as we have seen, Carlyle does by no means insist upon a deliberately philosophical attitude toward the Universe; that is not what he means when he says the "Fact of Existence is great to him." We might almost reduce that statement to the simpler one that the hero is dead in earnest. Here is one of his characteristic exclamations about Cromwell:

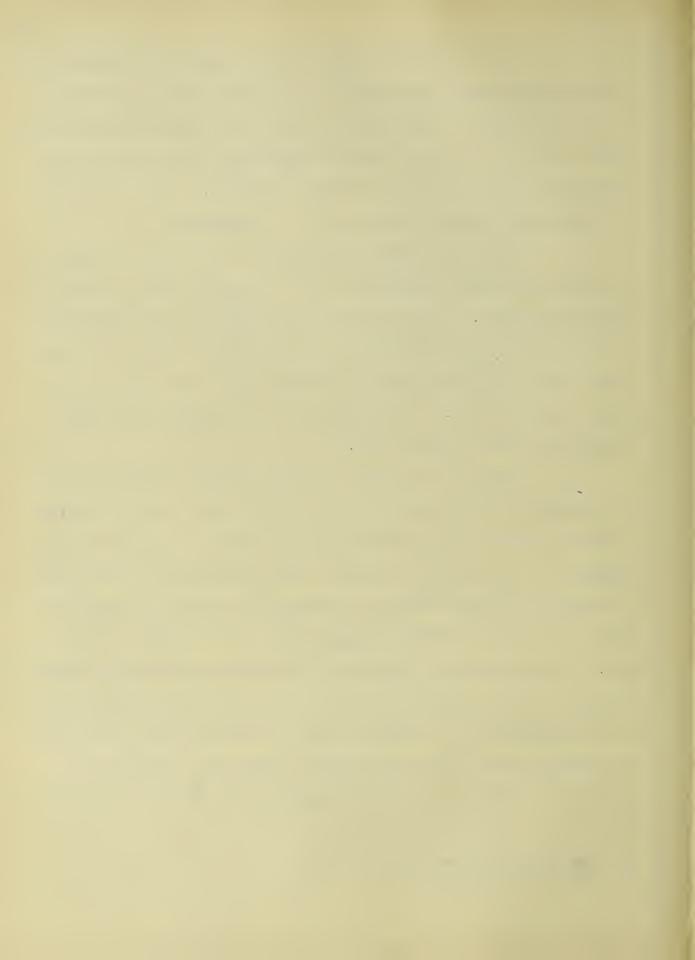
"The great savage <u>Baresark</u>: he ... did not speak, did not work with glib regularity; had no straight story to tell for himself anywhere. But he stood bare, not cased in euphemistic coat-of-mail; he grappled like a giant, face to face, heart to heart, with the naked truth of things. That after all, is the sort of man for one. I plead guilty to valuing such a man beyond all other sorts of men."

Shams and simulacra cannot deceive the hero; he is not amenable to the artifice of the charlatan. As our prophet asserts repeatly "he looks through the shows of things into the things." There exists in him a heart-abhorrence of whatever is incoherent, pusillanimous, unveracious, that insists Carlyle - "is to say, chaotic, ungoverned; of the Devil, not of God." This aspect of sincerity he sometimes denominated veracity That, as I have intimated was one of the most convincing evidences in the personality of Frederick that he was veritable Hero-King. He "grappled with the naked truth"; and he was "superior to sophistries" having a "noble incapacity of self-delusion, the

2) Ibid p 75.

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^{1) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-WorshipW p 276.



root of all good qualities in a man."1

A serious, arduous struggle is the life of the hero.

It could not be otherwise with so sincere a man. "Not a Maygame is this man's life; but a battle and a march, a warfare with
principalities and powers. ... it is a stern pilgrimage through
burning sandy solitudes, through regions of thick-ribbed ice."

Inevitably the man who is open to all Nature, and who is acutely
conscious of Fact will wage endless bitter warfare against disorder and injustice.

Every hero must by his very nature, be a minister to his subjects. "He that cannot be servant of many, will never be master, true guide and deliverer of many; that is the meaning of true mastership." The proper name of all Kings is Minister, Servant, Carlyle reiterates. We have seen in the foregoing chapter in what that service consists.

essentially just. He will also be patient with imperfect execution of his will, provided a diligent, obedient effort is made by his people. And he will be full of affectionate pity. "He walks among men", Carlyle affirms, "loves men with inexpressible soft pity, - as they cannot love him." And in the course of the same panegyric he exclaims, "Oh, if in this man, whose eyes can

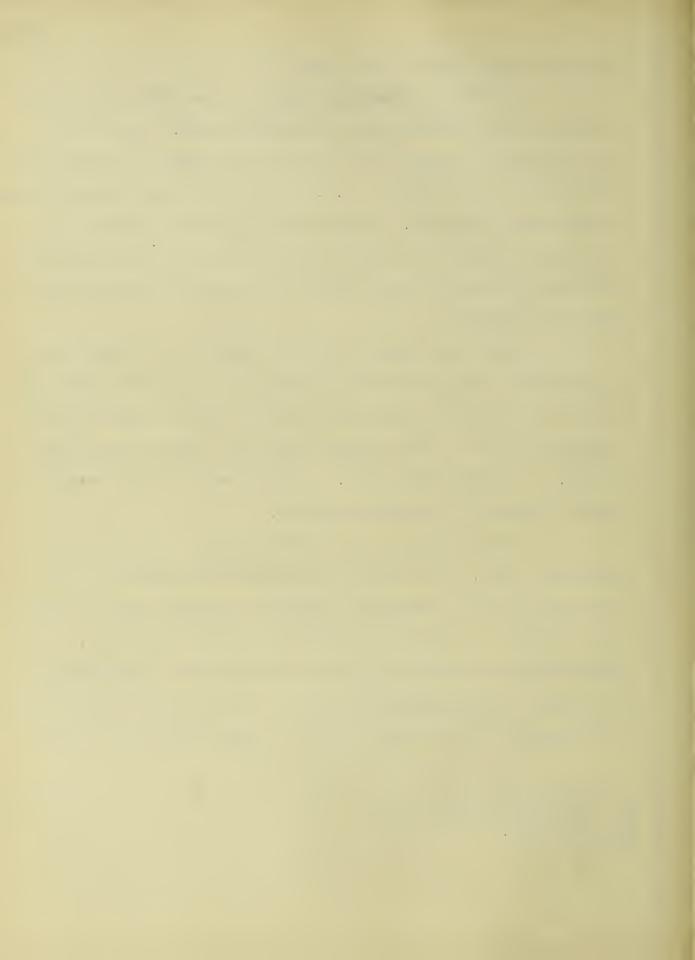
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^{1) &}quot;Frederick the Great" v V p 49.

^{2) &}quot;Past and Present" p 359.

³⁾ Ibid p 111.

⁴⁾ Ibid p 359.



flash Heaven's lightning, and make all Calibans into a cramp, there dwelt not, as the very essence of his being, a God's justice, human Nobleness, Veracity and Mercy, - I should tremble for the world. But his strength, let us rejoice to understand, is even this: The quantity of Justice, of Valour and Pity that is in him. To hypocrites and tailored quacks in high places his eyes are lightning; but they melt in dewy pity softer than a mother's to the downpressed, maltreated; in his heart, in his great thought, is a sanctuary for all the wretched."

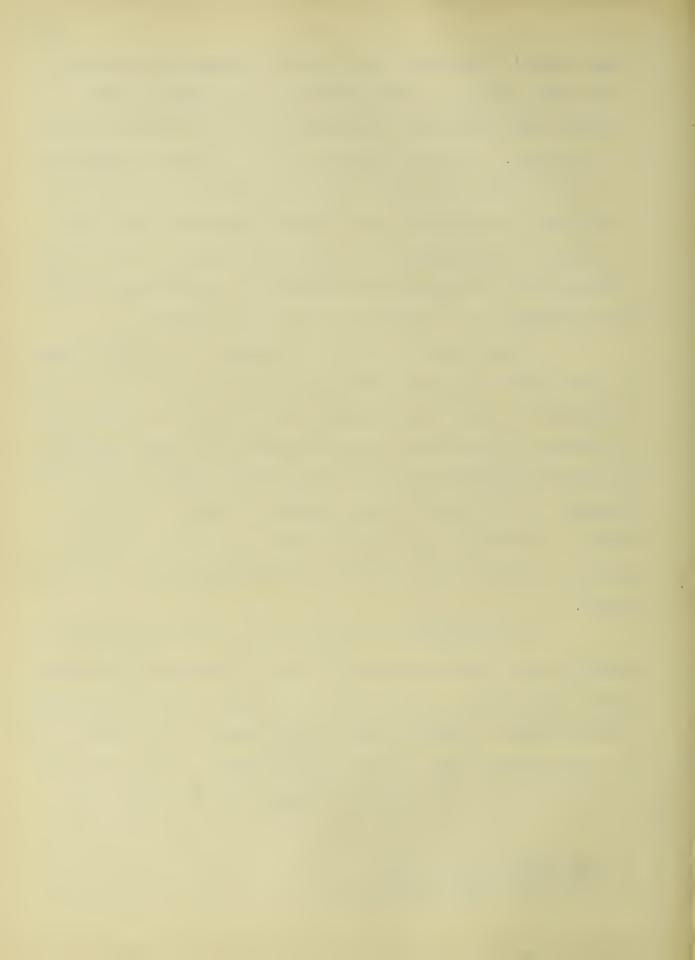
The reference, above, to making "all Calibans into a cramp" points us to the third main quality of the hero - valor. Necessarily he who is to overthrow the forces of confusion, and exterminate the minions of disorder must be not only devoid of fear, but impregnated with belligerent force, more or less spiritualized. "The chief of men", Carlyle believed, "is he who stands in the van of men; fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others."

In "The Hero as Divinity", he announces his discovery that "the main practical belief" of the Norsemen, and of Mahomet, Luther and Napoleon, was that since destiny, "which it is useless trying to bend or soften, has appointed who is to be slain", "the one thing needful for a man was to be brave." And in the same connection occur these epigrams: "Valor is still value", and

^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 361.

²⁾ Ibid p 223.

^{3) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 44.



"Now and always, the completeness of his victory over Fear will determine how much of a man he is."

Valor he regarded as the foundation of all character, as essential for a hero as is a solid block of marble or granite for a statue. He says, "For indeed Valor is the foundation of Pity too; of Truth, and all that is great and good in man." 2

Preëminently valiant were all of the men whom Carlyle catalogued among the heroes. Of Luther, he maintains, "The essential quality ... was, that he could fight and conquer; that he was a right piece of human Valor." And he assured his readers they would see in his vehemently admired hero, William the Conqueror, "a fellow of most flashing discernment, of most strong lion-heart."

Intrepedity must be wrought into the very fibre of the hero; he must be absolutely dauntless either by foes or by the odds of fortune. He must be so constituted that in all circumstances and in all places he shall dominate, and all inferiors shall instinctively acknowledge his superiority.

The hero must have the faculty of prompt decision, and he must be indomitably resolute in carrying into operation his decisions. The greatness of Cromwell consisted largely in his ability "To see and dare, and decide; to be a fixed pillar in the welter of uncertainty." And one of the traits Carlyle

^{1) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 45.

²⁾ Ibid p 49.

³⁾ Ibid

⁴⁾ Ibid p 303.



most admired in Frederick was his "grimly-clear determination" to "'achieve it or die.'" "And", says the admiring Carlyle, "if there be less of piety than we could wish in the silence of it, there is at least no play-actor mendacity, or cant of devoutness, to poison the high worth of it."

Verily the "extremely dissolute" prince with soul "bitterly polluted, tragically dimmed of its finest radiances" by gross libertinism could hardly have been expected to have his pertinacity tainted by devoutness. And assuredly he did not. But he was brave, and he brought things to pass. A multitude of "peccadillos" were atoned for by his efficiency - his "rapidity and energy"; his "effective Performance". In fact a reflective scrutiny of such passages as that in which Carlyle reluctantly concedes that Frederick, when deceived by those with whom he had signed agreements "by no means intends to be romantically true to them", might provoke a cynical critic to allege that Frederick was awarded the hero's chaplet solely because of his "backbone of real Spartan iron."²

Certain it is that a generous endowment of qualities tending to produce Order was to Carlyle an unmistakable evidence that a man was a hero, and given those, he knew intuitively that the man was sent from the Immensities, and was divinely directed.

^{1) &}quot;History of Frederick the Great" v V p 140.

²⁾ The author, Henry James, in an article in the Atlantic giving "Some Personal Recollections of Carlyle", made this assertion: "Picturesqueness in man and nature was the one key to his intellectual favor, and it made little difference to his artist eye whether the man were spiritually angel or demon."



It was only too obvious that some of the heroic ministers of Order were unaware that they were furthering any other interests than narrow personal ones. They were, however, none the less heroes. He states the case thus in behalf of William the Conqueror:

"I have a certain indestructible regard for Wilhelmus Conquaestor. A resident House-Surgeon, provided by Nature for her beloved English People, and even furnished with the requisite fees & I said; for he by no means felt himself doing Nature's work, this Wilhelmus, but his own work exclusively!"

This glorification on the part of Carlyle, of a high degree of bravery and efficiency calls up the more obvious points of relationship in Kipling's conception of the hero.

"Mr. Kipling is a Carlylian in his love for the strong man wherever he finds him", says a writer in "The Scottish Review." Indeed Kipling does have a tremendous admiration for the powerful man. Throughout his writings we find implied the idea that the man to be honored is he who possesses the qualities which Carlyle associates with valor, - bravery, decision of character, resolution, power of domination, skill and efficiency.

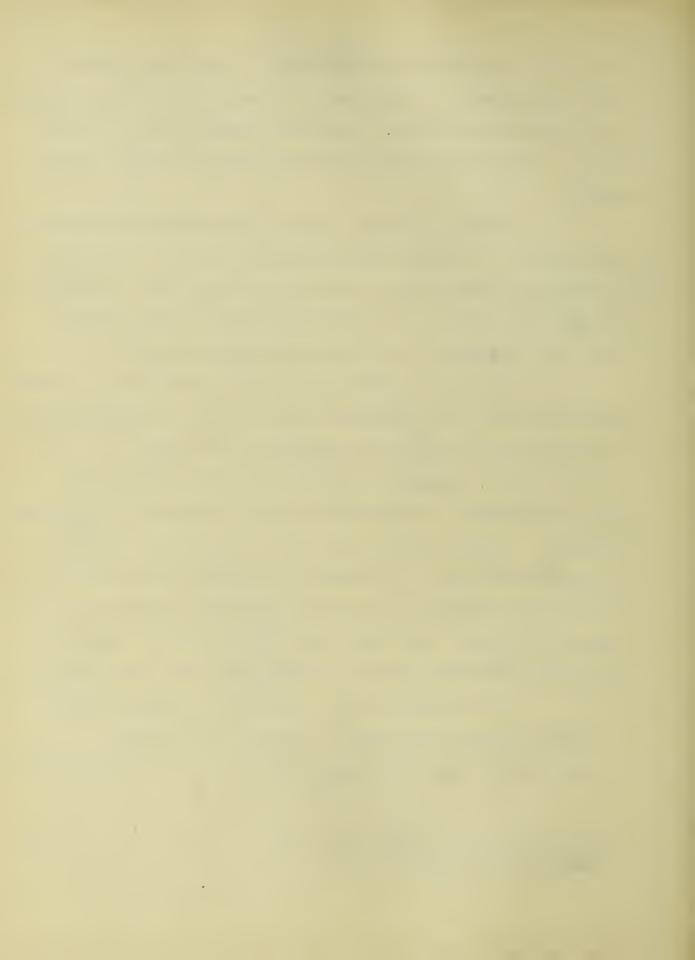
In his nursery rime, "Cold Iron", Kipling sings,

"Crowns are for the valiant - scepters for the bold

Thrones and powers for mightymen who dare to take and hold."3

^{1) &}quot;Past and Present" p 266.

²⁾ Quoted in "Living Age" v 225 p 810. 3) "Rewards and Fairies" p 28.



In tales and poems the characters whom Kipling takes delight in are those who cannot be daunted by circumstances or by threatening arrays of the enemy. They are born fighters, and exceeding bold ones. Mulvaney and Ortheris and Learoyd, while heroes in only a limited sense, shadow forth for us some of Kipling's ideals. They enter with enthusiasm into battles in which the peril is tremendous, never flagging in zeal until the engagement is ended. His favorite heroes are men like his "Bobs", General Roberts, who if stood on his head would have leaked quarts of lead.

The man who can instantaneously make a wise decision and skillfully carry it out, no matter how great the difficulties, is the great man in the eyes of Kipling, as he was to Carlyle.

And in his strong poem "If" he reckons dauntless persistence among the absolute essentials of noblest manhood. Some of the tests are:

"If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk't on one turn of pitch and toss,
And lose and start again at your beginnings,
And never breathe a word about your loss;

"If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the Will which says to them: 'Hold on!'

"If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run."

^{1) &}quot;Rewards and Fairies" p 182.



Such stalwart qualities are heroic even though not deliberately devoted to God's work of creating Order, Kipling would say. And as Carlyle defended William the Conqueror's territorial aggressions as well-carned pay for order-making, so he has the retiring Viceroy exhibit as the reward of his sacrifice and toil,

"A country twice the size of France annexed".1

Kipling venerated greatly Cecil Rhodes who is said to have "united the mind and evergy of a superman with the conscience of a buccaneer." But, as we have seen, Kipling has the abundant sanction of the prophet of Hero-worship for his off-hand defense of Rhodes. "(He) needs no morals; he is building an empire." Rhodes was, indeed energetically promoting the establishment of such a type of Order as Carlyle advocated. And Kipling followed Carlyle in ascribing to the divine guidance the heroic activity of the able man, despite the absence of conscious religiousness in the hero. "The Burial" was a tribute to Cecil Rhodes:

"When the great Kings return to clay,
Or Emperors in their pride
Grief of a day shall fill a day
Because its creature died.
But we - we reckon not with those
Whom the mere fates ordain
This Power that wrought on us and goes
Back to the Power again.

"Dreamer devout, by vision led
Beyond our guess or reach,
The travail of his spirit bred
Cities in place of speech.
So huge the all-mastering thought that drove So brief the term allowed Nations, not words, he linked to prove
His faith before the crowd."3



Insight and sincerity appear in those lines as chief characteristics of the hero greater than nominal sovereigns. This man was given, by the mysterious Power by whom he was sent, the faculty of vision. Therefore, he was able to form a "dream" of the Order demanded by the laws of the universe. He had insight also of so practical a type that he could forge links between nations. And he had the sincerity to attend strictly to fact; and in silence comparable to that of Cromwell, he labored hard to produce cities. Concerning him Kipling emphasizes as Carlyle did concerning his heroes the fact that he prepared paths for his people, proving thus by ministry his real kingship.

Kipling gave expression to this idea of the sincere patient service of heroes in some verses opening with the line,

"Let us now praise famous men."

"Some beneath the further stars
Bear the greater burden.
Set to serve the lands they rule
(Save he serve no man may rule),
Serve and love the lands they rule,
Seeking praise nor guerdon.

"Wherefore praise we famous men From whose bays we borrow -They that put aside To-day -All the joys of their To-day -And with toil of their To-day Bought for us Tomorrow!1

And Kipling lays decided stress on the qualities which Carlyle associated with sincerity. In the poem in which he

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1) Dedication to "Stalky and Company" pp VII, IX, X.



enumerates the requirements of strong manhood he includes veracity - a sense of fact immovable by popular distrust, and strict honesty - patience and emancipation from the cant of piety. The verses run:

"If you can keep your head when all about you Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too:
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise."

On the point of insight Kipling not only accepts the idea of Carlyle that the supreme hero must have a lucid perception of the laws of the universe, and the idea that the truly able man is inspired by the Infinite whether he is conscious of the transcendental influence or not, but he also accepts his idea that Shrewdness of intellect is an essential of the hero. In the poem written at the time of the death of his intimate friend, and brother by marriage, Wolcott Balestier, he has these lines, which give explicit statement of that idea inarticulately present in all his writings:

"Beyond the path of the outmost sun through utter darkness hurled Further than ever comet flared or vagrant star-dust swirled Live such as fought and sailed and ruled and loved and made our world.

^{1) &}quot;If". "Rewards and Fairies" p 182.
2) In "The Explorer" (Collected Verse, p 22) he has the man who after baffling and literally maddening hardships, has discovered a rich land where men assured him there was nothing, make this declaration:

[&]quot;God took care to hide that country till He judged His people ready, Then He chose me for His Whisper, and I've found it, and it's yours!

[&]quot;God forgive me! No I didn't. It's God's present to our nation. Anybody might have found it but - His whisper came to Me!"



"To these who are cleansed of base Desire, Sorrow and Lust and
Shame Gods for they know the hearts of men, men for they stooped
to Fame."1

The rulers, lovers and makers of our world were Godlike in their insight into men's hearts. Something much like that we saw Carlyle said of Frederick.

Already we have seen, in a former chapter, that Kipling follows Carlyle in the conviction that the man of greatest might, and insight, the hero, should be the supreme ruler. In one of the Jungle stories he says, "Akela told them they ought to gather themselves together and follow the Law, and run under one head, as befitted the Free people." And Kipling believes not only that the really able man should rule, but also that in effect he does inevitably rule. In the "Dedication", in "The Five Nations", he says,

"Yet instant to foreshadowed need
The eternal balance swings;
That winged men the Fates may breed
So soon as Fate hath wings.
These shall possess
Our littleness
And in the imperial task (as worthy) lay
Up our lives all to piece one giant day."2

In general Kipling has appropriated and adapted Carlyle's conception of the hero. With Carlyle, Kipling declares that the Spirit of the Universe sends the hero to earth, and inspires and

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^{1) &}quot;Collected Verse" pp 1, 2.

²⁾ p VI.



directs him in his earthly kingship. Kipling adopts Carlyle's view that one of the fundamental qualities of the hero is clear comprehension of the essential laws of the universe, particularly the law of justice insured by Order, and allied with this, the power of penetrating directly to the true import of any phenomena with which the hero is confronted, and of sagaciously judging and managing men. Kipling likewise has been seen to concur with the great advocate of hero-worship in the opinion that a second principal quality of the hero is sincerity - earnest acceptance of and loyalty to fact, and serious, just and piteous ministration to the nation which he is governing, or whom he is guiding. And, finally, it has become most apparent that Kipling follows Carlyle in emphasizing as a third distinguishing attribute of the hero, valor. With like vehemence to his spiritual god-father, Kipling exalts the iron courage, and the resolute persistence in judicious plans, and the ever-effectual skill of the dominant individual, the hero.

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1) It will be noticed that I have not, in my treatment of Kipling in this chapter, enlarged upon the hero's hatred of sham and artificiality as in the case of Carlyle. The reason for the omission is that Kipling does not, in speaking of the great man, specifically mention that. However, it has been previously shown that he shared Carlyle's contempt for mockery and artificiality.



VII. Work.

The hero with his transcendent endowments of insight, sincerity and valor is always in some sort a worker. He labors assideously to create Order. In large measure the effectiveness of his work is proportional to his valor. Carlyle said:

"I suppose the right good fighter was oftenest also the right good forest-feller, - the right good improver, discerner, doer and worker in every kind, for true valor, different enough from ferocity, is the basis of all. A more legitimate kind of valor that; showing itself against the untamed Forests and dark brute Powers of Nature, to conquer Nature for us." And again, "The strong man will ever find work, which means difficulty, pain to the full measure of his strength."

But the hero and the governors, as I have intimated, are not able to establish Order unaided. Every individual has his part to play in making and preserving a cosmos in society. And that means that every man must work. Carlyle stated this law in "The Hero as King", in these words:

"His mission is Order; every man's is. He is here to make what was disorderly, chaotic, into a thing ruled, regular. He is the missionary of Order. Is not all work of man in this world a making of Order?"

Thus, upon Carlyle's ground idea of Order arises the second of his most prominent doctrines - the doctrine of work.

^{1. &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 46.

^{2.} Ibid 135.

^{3.} Ibid



Our world as we find it is a riot of confusion and unreality; sham and mockery are flourishing. Hence the only rational existence for man is a life of unflagging effort to arrange and formulate things, bringing them into harmony with the eternal order; a life of everlasting warfare against hypocrisy and fraud.

"We have too horrible a practical chaos around us, out of which every man is called by the birth of him to make a bit of Cosmos", Carlyle wrote; and elsewhere he said, "they are to hate all such (Hypocrisies) with a perfect hatred; to do their best at extinguishing them as the poison of menkind. This is the temper for purchasers of work: how much more for the doers and producers of it! Work, every one of you, like the Demiurgus or Eternal World-Builder; work none of you, like the Diabolus or Dernier and Destroyer, - under penalties!"2

From the following quotation we can grasp Carlyle's conception of work as the instrument of Order: "Subdue mutiny, discord, widespread despair, by manfulness, justice, mercy and wisdom. Chaos is dark, deep as Hell; let light be, and there is instead a green flowery World. Oh, it is great and there is no other greatness. To make some nook of God's Creation a little fruitfuller; better, more worthy of God; to make some human hearts a little wiser, manfuller, happier, - more blessed, less accursed! It is work for a God." To this intense, austere prophet all

3. "Past and Present" p 368.

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^{1.} Letter to Thomas Cooper, published in Moncure Conway's Life of Thomas Carlyle p 58.

^{2. &}quot;Shooting Niagara: And After?" "Miscellaneous Essays" v V p 33.



work including that of hero-king, and hero-prophet, is, in short, the conscious or unconscious endeavor to relate this phantasmal pageant of our life to the fixed reality of the Immensities, to found a mundane Order consonant with the Infinite Will, to cause God's justice to prevail on earth. Hence work is religious.

"The best worship," Carlyle affirmed, "is stout working."

"Admirable was that of the old Monks, 'Laborare est Orare, Work is Worship, "remarks the prophet. "Older than all preached Gospels was this unpeached, inarticulate, but ineradicable, forever-enduring Gospel: Work, and therein have well-being. Man, Son of Earthand of Heaven, lies there not, in the innermost heart of thee, a Spirit of active Method, a Force for Work; and burns like a painfully-smouldering fire, giving thee no rest till thou unfold it, till thou write it down in beneficent Facts around thee! What immethodic, waste, thou shalt make methodic, regulated, arable, obedient and productive to thee. Wheresoever thou findest Disorder, there is thy eternal enemy; attack him swiftly, subdue him; make Order of him, the subject not of Chaos, but of intelligence, Divinity and Thee! The thistle that grows in thy path, dig it out that a useful blade of grass, a drop of nourishing milk may grow there instead. The waste cotton-shrub gather its waste white down, spin it, weave it, that in place of idle litter, there may be folded webs, and the naked skin of man be covered."2

^{1.} Letter to his wife. Froude's "Thomas Carlyle" v 2 p 161. 2. "Past and Present" p 249.



Such work as that can be nothing other than reli-"All true Work is sacred;" Carlyle reiterated, "Labour, gious. wide as the Earth, has its summit in Heaven. Sweat of the brow; and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all Sciences. all spoken Epics, all acted Heroisms, Martyrdoms, - up to that 'Agony of bloody sweat", which all men have called divine! O brother, if this is not 'worship', then I say, the more pity for worship; for this is the noblest thing yet discovered under God's sky." And it is not only the labour of saints, heroes and gods about which "there is something of divineness." In another place Carlyle says: "No man has worked, or can work, except religiously; not even the poor day-laborer, the weaver of your coat, the sewer of your shoes."2 When man works, moreover, he is most like the Supreme Worker. "Giant Labor," Carlyle venerates as the "truest emblem there is of God the World-Worker, Demiurgus, and Eternal Maker."3

And Carlyle essayed to substantiate his assertion that work is of sublime import, and that by work, service to God is most nobly performed by an examination of the uplifting and Godlike achievements of the past. He spoke of "noble fruitful Labour" as "the grand sole miracle of Man; whereby Man has risen from the low places of this Earth, very literally, into divine Heavens," and he continued, "Ploughers, Spinners, Builders; Prophets, Poets,

^{1. &}quot;Past and Present" p 250.

^{2.} Ibid p 256.

^{3.} Ibid p 211.



Kings; Brindleys and Goethes, Odins and Arkwrights; all martyrs and noble men, and gods of one great Host, noble every soldier in it; sacred and alone noble."1

But in addition to exhorting all men to work because it is best worship, and because it is "the mandate of God to his creature man," directing him to the formation of Order, Carlyle sometimes seems to value work as a good in itself. Since "All work, even cotton-spinning is noble; " and "work is alone noble,"2 and "There is endless hope in work were it even work at making money," it becomes appropriate to ask, "What is the use of health or of life, if not to do some work therewith?" But there does seem to be a tendency to make a fetish of work in Carlyle's jocular answer to the interrogations of certain serious-minded noblemen as to just what it was he would have them "do". His reply, as he recounted it with a stentorian laughter to Mr. Henry James, was: "I had no manner of council to bestow upon them: that I didn't know how they lived at all up there in their grand houses, nor what manner of tools they had to work with. All I knew was, I told them, that they must be doing something ere long, or they would find themselves on the broad road to the devil."4 rather trivial anecdote illustrates the tendency, sometimes halfrevealing itself in Carlyle's writings, to attribute to mere work an intrinsic merit.

 [&]quot;Past and Present" pp 368, 369.
 Ibid p 190.

[&]quot;Sartor Resartus" p 160.

^{4.} An extract from Henry James's notebook incorporated in "Some Personal Recollections of Carlyle," Atlantic Monthly, May 1881.



In the main, however, his gospel of work is thoroughly sound and inspiring. He discriminates sharply between building aerial palaces and making a real edifice, preferring "but a dog hutch", that is actual. "The end of Man", he quoted, "is an Action, and not a Thought, though it were the noblest." And he regarded all speech divorced from productive activity as worse than vain. "Deeds have such a life, mute but undeniable, and grow as living trees and fruit-trees do; they people the vacuity of Time, and make it green and worthy." Real work will inevitably continue in its effects. He maintained that "All true work of a man ... must and will accomplish itself."

That permanence as of the pyramids, and that far-extending importance, which Carlyle beheld in every creative act, or correctly finished task, constituted for him the sufficient reward of the worker. For those insensible to such ideal emolument the consciousness of rightly accomplished duty seemed to him the sole dependable recompense. In the first place material returns for the highest type of work cannot be commensurate to the value of the service; and in the second place, the most invaluable work ever done in the world has been repaid first with contumely if not with injury. Therefore the worker must rely chiefly on the joy of work well done. Cries the preacher of this gospel:

"Oh, what is dying of hunger, with honest tools in your hand, with a manful purpose in your heart, and much real labour

^{1. &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 119.

^{. &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" pp 273, 274.



lying round you done, in comparison? You honestly quit your tools; quit a most muddy confused coil of sore work, short rations, of sorrows, dispiritments and contradictions, having now honestly done with it all; and await, not entirely in a distracted manner what the Supreme Powers, and the Silences and the Eternities may have to say to you."

Vicarious suffering, Carlyle recognized, is involved in much of the work of greatest consequence. Great enterprises and monumental achievements are not consummated without tremendous, often mortal, struggles. Indeed every true worker needs much of the valor of the hero. "Thou too shalt fear no pain or death, shalt love no ease or life; the voice of festive Lubberlands, the noise of greedy Acheron shall alike be silent under thy victorious feet. Thy work, like Dante's, shall 'make thee lean for many years,'" said Carlyle to all who would work for Order. And to the "Captains of Industry" he said "God knows thy task will be hard; but no noble task was ever easy. This task will wear away your lives, and the lives of your sons and grandsons; but for what purpose, if not for tasks like this, were lives given to men?" 3

The sense of having promoted Order by achieving a worthy piece of work compensates for gruelling labor. And by the work accomplished the workers can justly be judged. This is true of

^{1. &}quot;Past and Present" pp 273, 274.

^{2.} Ibid p 255.

^{3.} Ibid p 341.



collective workers - nations. Distinctly patriotic reflections arose in the mind of Carlyle when he considered the work accomplished by England. In an apostrophe to John Bull Carlyle says:

"Nature alone knows thee, acknowledges the bulk and strength of thee: thy Epic, unsung in words, is written in huge characters on the face of this Planet, sea-moles, cotton-trades, railways, fleets and cities, Indian Empires, Americas, New Hollands legible throughout the Solar System!" And later he quotes

Nature as thus lauding England for her veracious labor: "'Waste desert-shrubs of the Tropical swamps have become Cotton-trees; and here, under my furtherance, are verily woven shirts ... Mountains, old as the Creation, I have permitted to be bored through; bituminous fuel-stores, the wreck of forests that were green a million years ago, I have opened them from my secret rock-chambers and they are yours, ye English. Your huge fleets, steamships, do sail the sea; huge Indias do obey you; from huge New Englands and Centipodal Australias comes profit and traffic to this Old England of mine!"2

Of the individual worker, too, the final test is, the work he has done. Carlyle put this point very definitely in these words:

"Whatsoever of morality and intelligence; what of patience, perseverence, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy; in a word, whatsoever of Strength the man had in

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2. Ibid pp 109, 110.

^{1. &}quot;Past and Present" p 199.



him will lie written in the Work he does. To work: why it is to try himself against Nature, and her everlasting, unerring Laws; these will tell a true verdict as to the man."

And it is not only spiritual or impressive material work by which real worth can be inferred. Though Carlyle honored most him who was toiling for "the bread of Life", the one other type of man he honored was: "the toil-worn Craftsman that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her Man's. Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet." Thus he continues to voice his strong respect for the uninspired laborer, "Venerable too is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a Man living manlike. O, but the more venerable for thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly-entreated Brother! For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed: thou wert our Conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. For in thee too lay a God-created Form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labour: and thy body, like they soul was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on: thou art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread."2

^{1. &}quot;Past and Present" p 196.

^{2. &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 171.

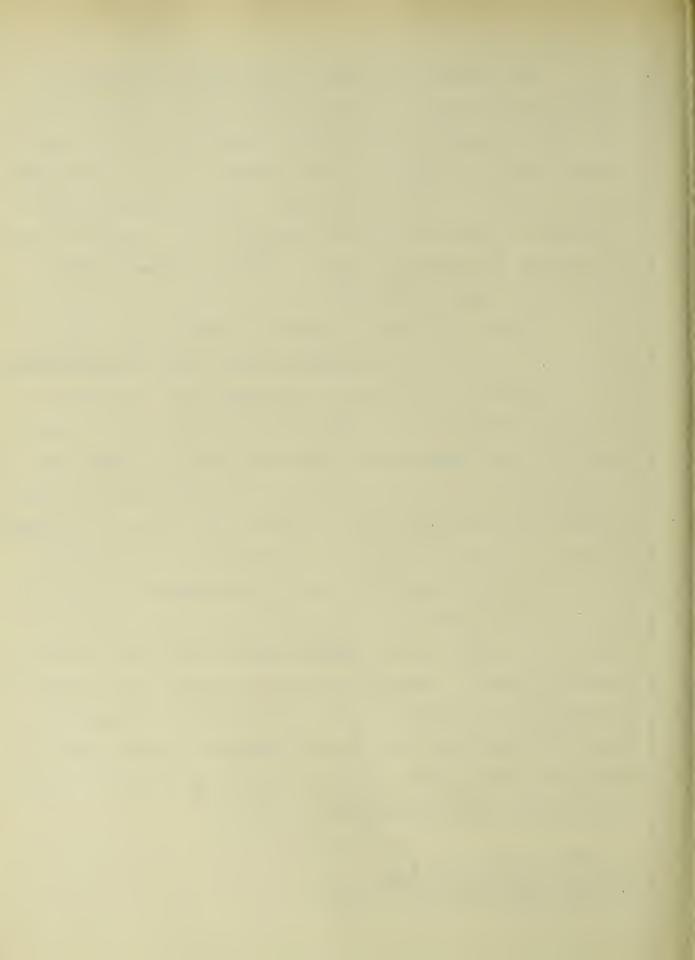


Now, inasmuch as "What we have done" is the absolute criterion of what we are, it follows that the man who has done a great deed is therefore praiseworthy, regardless of how he may have departed from the precepts of the virtuous. "The American Backwoodsman, who had to fell unpenetrated forests, and battle with innumerable wolves," deserved the blessing of the "peaceful Sower" who followed him, though he "did not entirely forbear strong liquor, rioting, and even theft."

However, good work presupposes certain right traits of character. It cannot be accomplished unless the worker is endued more or less richly with certain noble qualities. Faith and bravery are indispensable. Carlyle's words are: "Every noble work is at first 'impossible'. In very truth, for every noble work the possibilities will lie diffused through Immensity; inarticulate, undiscoverable except to faith"; and "work is of a brave nature: ... all work of man is as the swimmer's: a waste ocean threatens to devour him; if he front it not bravely, it will keep its word. By incessant, wise definace of it, lusty rebuke and buffet of it, behold how it loyally supports him, bears him as its conqueror along." Elsewhere he gives as requisits of the wrestle with Nature the following powers: "sheer obstinate toughness of muscle; but much more, what we call toughness of heart, which will mean persistence hopeful and even desperate, unsubduable patience, composed candid openness, clearness of mind. "3

^{1. &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 135. 2. "Past and Present" pp 246, 247.

^{3.} Ibid p 198.



And, on the other hand, work has an edifying effect upon the doer. "A man perfects himself by working," says Carlyle, "even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work!" By continually and intimately operating on Nature a person not only acquires the insight made possible by a knowledge of Nature's laws, but also so employs the "god-given Force" of his being that it "awakens him to all nobleness, to all knowledge." Moreover all those virtues which are essential to good work are to be learned "in wrestling with the dim brute Powers of Fact"; the virtues of "Patience, Courage, Perseverance, Openness to light, readiness to own thyself mistaken, to do better next time." It was this fact of the uplifting efficacy of labor which for years postponed Carlyle's despondency over England. He hopefully said:

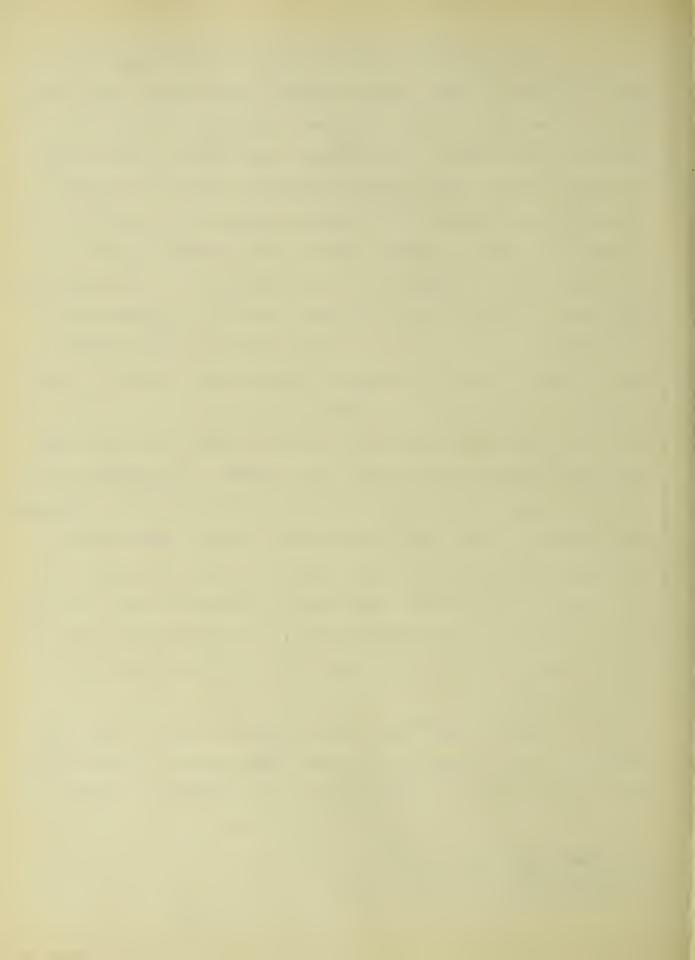
"Show me a People energetically busy; heaving, struggling, all shoulders to the wheel; their heart pulsing, every muscle swelling, with man's energy and will; - I show you a people of whom great good is already predicable; to whom all manner of good is yet certain if their energy endure. By very working they will learn; they have Antaeus-like their foot on Mother Fact: how can they but learn?"³

Work, we have seen, is the means of making Order; and work is a good in itself; and by work both nations and individuals may be measured. It presupposes certain fundamental virtues, and

^{1. &}quot;Past and Present" p 243.

^{2.} Ibid p 245.

^{3.} Ibid p 257.



by it nobility of character is cultivated. What is more, work is the inflexible law of human existence. No matter how indifferent a man may be to the establishing of Order, he must work. Though a person care never so little about being esteemed worthy before the bar of Nature and Fact, he must work. "This", says Carlyle, "is the everlasting duty of all men, ... who are born into this world. To do competent work, to labour honestly according to the ability given them; for that and for no other purpose was each one of us sent into this world; and woe is to every man who ... is prevented from fulfilling this the end of his being."

Carlyle deemed the idle man, the man who does no work, whether a "nigger Quashee" or a partridge-hunting noble nothing short of "a monster". The lord whose life consisted in preserving game and consuming the produce of the labor of others, he plainly branded thief. Said he, "The earth is The Lord's. Remember this and seek other duties than game preserving, wouldst thou not be an interloper, sturdy beggar, and even thief." In his "French Revolution" he addressed the Noblesse and Clergy in these foreboding words: "What are you doing in God's fair Earth and Taskgarden; where whosoever is not working is begging or stealing? Woe, woe to themselves and to all, if they can only answer: Collecting tithes, Preserving game!"

When, finally Order has become established, and the hero and his governors are enforcing the divine law all men will be at

 [&]quot;The Nigger Question". "Miscellaneous Essays" v IV, p 355.
 Journal of Oct. 28, 1830. Froude's "Life of Carlyle" v II p 75.
 v I Bk. IV pp 141, 142.



work. All inclined by hereditary position or by temperament to idle will be given the choice of working or starving. "Out of the loud-piping whirlwind, audibly to him that has ears, the Highest God is again announcing in these days: 'Idleness shall not be.'"1

Their parchments and the sanction of use and wont give a do-nothing aristocracy no real title to the land they hold.

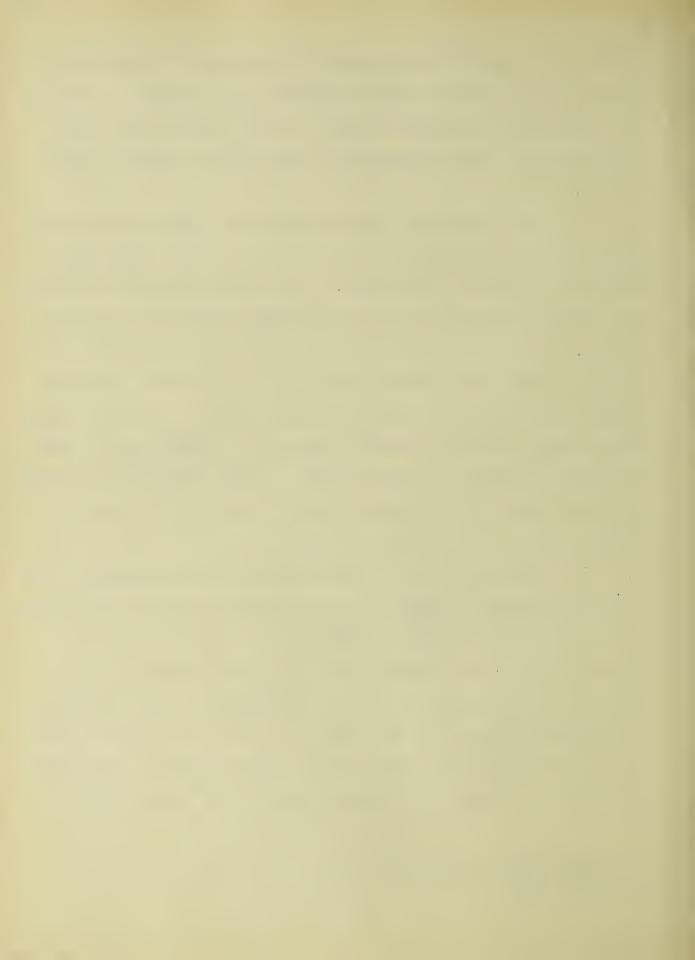
The world belongs to the worker. "Its real conquerors, creators, and eternal proprietors are the following, and their representatives ...: All the Heroic Souls that ever were in England, each in their degree; all the men that ever cut a thistle, drained a puddle out of England, contrived a wise scheme in England, did or said a true and valiant thirg in England." Again Carlyle says "Properly speaking, the Land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God; and to all His Children of Men that have worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it."

The recognition of that principle was an element of the Order which Carlyle foretold. In the Utopia of which he dreamed there would be developed an industrial system ruled over by captains of industry, lieges of the hero, who should bring it about that good products should be manufactured, and distributed at equitable prices; and who should see to it that every workman should be fairly paid. For in those days obedience, sanctified by loyalty, and not cash-payment should be the social nexus.

^{1. &}quot;Fast and Present" p 350.

^{2.} Ibid p 166.

^{3.} Ibid p 217.



And all the world should recognize that man's only claim to respect on earth, or delight in Heaven is Work.

entirely distinct approach. When, in the course of Carlyle's earnest young manhood the question of the "origin" and meaning of evil in the world became too insistent to be longer glossed over, he was, as he showed in "Sartor Resartus", for many months in the throes of despair. No smug doctrinal, or pseudo-philoso-phical explanation of the mystery could give him light. But at length having refused to give up to the devil, the "Everlasting Yea" came to him. The conviction grew up within his consciousness that "Man's Unhappiness, ... comes of his greatness; it is because there is an Infinite in him, which ... he cannot bury under the Finite."

Now if man's longings for expansion are limitless it is quite obvious that in this earth they can never approach satisfaction. Unhappiness is an inevitable condition of mortal experience. Therefore, said Carlyle with Buddha, and with Marcus Aurelius, and with Goethe, man's salvation lies in diminishing his desires, and renouncing all hope of realizing any of them.

"'Islam', That we must <u>submit</u> to God. That our whole strength lies in submission to Him, whatsoever He do to us. For this world and for the other! The thing He sends to us, were it death and worse than death, shall be good, shall be best; we

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1. "Cartor Resartus" p 143.



resign ourselves to God. ... It has ever been held the highest wisdom for a man not merely to submit to Necessity, - Necessity will make him submit, - but to know and believe well that the stern thing which Necessity had ordered was the wisest, the best, the thing wanted there. To cease his frantic pretension of scanning this great God's-World in his small fraction of a brain; to know that it had verily, though deep beyond his soundings, a just Law, that the soul of it was Good; - that his part in it was to conform to the Law of the Whole, and in devout silence follow that; not questioning it, obeying it as unquestionable."

Such was the doctrine of "Entsagung". The impossibility of happiness did not indicate to Carlyle any hostility of God toward man. For, as has been pointed out, he believed that "one is fifty times better for being heartily drilled in the school of experience, though beaten every day with forty stripes save one."

He "found that no jot of my castigations couldhave been spared."

Having thus solved the problem of evil, and adjusted himself to the severe discipline of hardship, Carlyle could accept the feeling of his heart and live the "Everlasting Yea" - "Love not Pleasure; love God." But doubts of God's justice and goodness would be certain to intrude upon him if he continued speculating. Therefore, to escape from doubt he would devote himself to Action. Thus appears the second avenue to the castle of work. "For health of mind" he wrote to his brother John, "there is no help except in religious action." In a very kindly letter to a young lady, troubled with doubts he wrote:

^{1. &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Worship" p 77.

^{2.} Letter written in 1826. Published in Conway's "Thomas Carlyle".

^{3. &}quot;Sartor Resartus" p 145.

^{4.} Froude's "Life of Thomas Carlyle" v 2 p 210.



"The great remedy against such spiritual maladies and torments is to rise upon them vigorously from without, in the way of practical work and performance. ... <u>Do</u> the duty that is nearest thee! that first, and that well, all the rest will disclose themselves with increasing clearness, and make their successive demand. Were your duties never so small I advise you, set yourself with double and treble energy and punctuality to do them ... in spite of the devil's teeth! This is our answer to all inward devils as they used to be called. "This I can do, O Devil, and I do it thou seest in the name of God! It is astonishing and beautiful what swift exorcism lies in this course of proceeding, and how at the first real glimpse of it all foul spirits and sickly torments prepare to vanish."

And by finding out what he "can work at" and doing that with his might a man not only dispels the demons but he brings into being a miniature cosmos, which demonstration of the reality of order in what seems to be so chaotic a world, confirms him in the faith that God is in His heaven, and the world is just.

This being true it becomes egregious folly to be introspective, and ask oneself if it is well with his soul. In closing a discussion of religion Carlyle says, "This day thou knowest ten commanded duties, seest in thy mind ten things which should be done, for one that thou doest! Do one of them; this of itself will show thee ten others which can and shall be done. 'But my

^{1.} Written 1866. Published in Conway's "Thomas Carlyle" p 217. 2. "Past and Present" p 287.



future fate?' Yes, thy future fate, indeed! Thy future fate, while thou makest it the chief question, seems to me - extremely questionable!"

Moreover the work done to strengthen faith may well be concerned with strictly "terrestrial matters. ... For it is in the world that a man, devout or other, has his life to lead, his work waiting to be done."

So, Carlyle's magnificent gospel of work is upheld, as an arch by two massive columns, on the one side work as an instrument of Order, and on the other work as a spiritual fog-pilot.

Work is, also, one of Kipling's two greatest doctrines.

And we shall now see that very much of it bears the image and superscription of Carlyle.

Having inherited the same conception of Order, it is not strange that Kipling accepted also the idea that the instrument, in the hands of the great men, for producing Order is universal work. His presentation of the idea is particularly complete in "The Wage Slaves". Extracts follow:

"From forge and farm and mine and bench,
Desk, altar, outpost lone Mill, school, battalion, counter, trench,
Rail, senate, sheep-fold, throne Creation's cry goes up on high
From age to cheated age:
'Send us the men who do the work
'For which they draw the wage.'

"Beneath the sun we count on none Our evil to assuage Except the men that do the work For which they draw the wage."

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1. "Past and Present" p 144.



Not such men as waste their force in currying praise, the poem goes on,

"But such as dower each mortgaged hour Alike with clean courage -

Men like to Gods that do the work For which they draw the wage."1

We perceive that the order-making worker, as with Carlyle, is possessed of the courage of the hero, and that by doing that work he is revealing a likeness to the World-Worker. And that work for Order is part of religious activity is intimated further in the following lines:

"Bless, then, our God, the new-yoked plough
And the good beasts that draw,
And the bread we eat in the sweat of our brow
According to Thy Law.

After us cometh a multitude Prosper the work of our hands,
That we may feed with our land's food
The folk of all our lands!"2

Kipling also falls at rather frequent intervals into the position that work is a thing good in itself. That appears in the following lines from the poem on famous men:

> "This we learned from famous men Knowing not its uses When they showed in daily work Man must finish of his work -Right or wrong his daily work -And without excuses."

But most of Kipling's delight in work is evoked by the constructive value of its products. As was true of Carlyle, it is

^{1. &}quot;Collected Verse" pp 209, 210.

^{2. &}quot;The Settler". Ibid p 122.

^{3.} Dedication to "Stalky and Company".

the building and manning of ships, the fruitful tilling of the soil, the mining of precious metal, the construction of roads, the making of shirts, and the feeding of hungry men which made work sublime in the eyes of Kipling. And like Carlyle he has scant regard for those who merely talk about work. He sings

"So the more we work and the less we talk the better results we shall get."

And he greatly respected his nation for its silent working. He

said

"But the English - oh the English! they are quite a race apart.

In telegraphic sentences, half-swallowed at the ends
They hint a matters inwardness - and there the matter ends.
And while the Celt is talking from Valencia to Kirkwall
The English - ah, the English! don't say anything at all."2

Like the earlier prophet of work, Kipling discovered the real reward of labor in the permanence of its products. The joy and satisfaction to be found in a piece of finished work that will stand, he reveals in the following passage from his story, "The Bridge-Builders":

"Findlayson, C.E., turned on his trolley and looked over the face of the country that he had changed for seven miles around. Looked back on the humming village of five-thousand workmen; up stream and down, along the vista of spurs and sand; across the river to the far piers, - lessening in the haze; overhead to the guard-towers - and only he know how strong those were - and with a sigh of contentment saw that his work was good. There stood his

^{1. &}quot;The Lesson". "Collected Verse" p 201.
2. "The Puzzler". "Actions and Reactions" p 238.



bridge before him in the sunlight, ... - his bridge, raw and ugly as original sin, but pukka - permanent - to endure when all memory of the builder, yea, even of the splendid Findlayson truss, had perished."1

The same sentiment finds expression in "One Viceroy resigns". The retiring official says:

> "I gave - no matter what gave - I win. I know I win. Mine's work, good work that live!"2

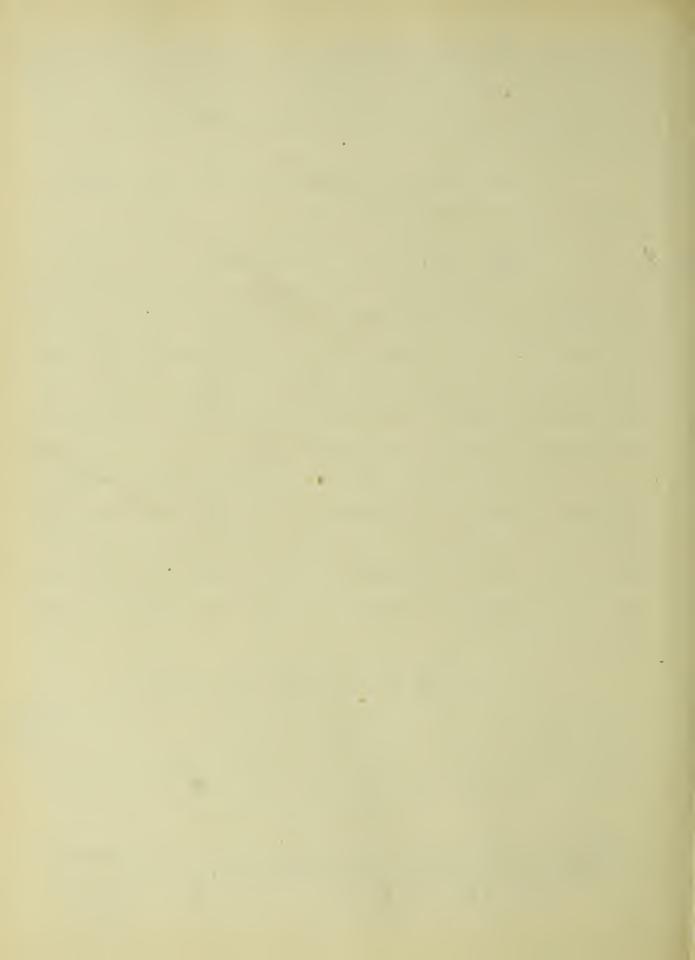
Work, then, being a permanent good, the consciousness of having done good work constitutes a remuneration for the grinding toil involved. In the story quoted above Kipling describes the native laborers working overtime to avert disaster to the bridge from flood, "stripped to the waist, working for the honour and credit which are better than life."3

All constructive work, all permanent achievement is dependent, Kipling fully recognizes, on terrific, incessant exertion - toil to the death. But, says he, that is an inevitable fact of life, and the knowledge of having worked well compensates. "The Song of the Banjo" is a sort of Song of the Minstrel Kipling. In it are the lines,

> "(O it's any tune that comes into my head)! So I keep them moving forward till they drop."

A great part of the serious message of Kipling is that: keep working on with all your might, come what will, until you can not contract a muscle. The men he glorified were such as he who "For three

 [&]quot;The Day's Work" p 5.
 "Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses."
 "The Bridge-Builders." "Day's Work" p 16.



years - had endured heat and cold, disappointment, discomfort, danger, and disease."

In "The Devil and the Deep Sea", Kipling revels in an adventure which made all hands go "crazy with toil".

There he describes the doughty work:

"That work alone filled the better part of three days - warm and sticky days when the hands slipped and sweat ran into the eyes. ... In one desperate forenoon the entire crew, naked and lean, haled back, more or less into place, the starboard supporting column. ... Mr. Wardrop found them asleep when they had finished the work, and gave them a day's rest. ... They woke to new and more trying labour; ... Those were the days when men swooned over the ratchet drill and the hand-forge, and where they fell they had leave to lie unless their bodies were in the way of their fellows' feet."

Kipling is the supreme living exponent of that doctrine from Carlyle: toil on at your allowed task as long as you can stand, and no matter how sharp the torture remember it is "all in the day's work."

That precept with its implication of indifference to fame because of joy in the completed work, Kipling ascribed to the mother genius of England, in her "Answer" to her colonial sons:

"Go to your work, and be strong, halting not in your ways, Baulking the end half won for an instant dole of praise. Stand to your work and be wise - certain of sword and pen, Who are neither children nor Gods, but men in a world of men!"3

^{1. &}quot;The Bridge Builders". "Day's Work" p 3.

^{2. &}quot;The Day's Work" p 180.

^{3. &}quot;England's Answer". "Collected Verse" p 93.



The devotion and effectiveness with which Great Britain, or any nation, obeys that exhortation is to Kipling the final measure of its greatness. He is impressed to the last degree with the majesty of the empire and to illustrate it he presents her order-making achievements.

Supremacy on the seas has been won for her by men who made scant visible gains; but who strove hard and endured well.

Of the "Sea-Wife" Kipling sings:

"For since that wife had gate or gear,
Or hearth or garth or field,
She willed her sons to the white harvest,
And that is a better yield.

"She wills her sons to the wet ploughing
To ride the horse of tree,
And syne her sons come back again
Far-spent from out to sea.

"The good wife's sons come home again
With little into their hands,
But the lore of men that ha' dealt with men
In the new and naked lands;

"But the faith of men that have brothered men By more than easy breath, And the eyes o' men that have read with men In the open books of Death

"Rich are they, rich in wonders seen,
But poor in the goods o' men;
So what they ha' got by the skin of their teeth
They sell for their teeth again."

And "The Merchantmen" whose part in empire building Kipling sees to be large, sing:

"We bring no store of ingots,
Of spice or precious stones,
But that we have we gathered
With sweat and aching bones:

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1. "Collected Verse" p 12.



In flame beneath the tropics, In frost upon the floe, And jeopardy of every wind That does between them go."1

"South Africe" the latest accession to Great Britain's dominion was subdued and rendered orderly by Englishmen who glorified their nation in heroic exertion and sublime fortitude.

"Bitter hard her lovers toiled,
Scandalous their payment, Food forgot on trains derailed;
Cattle-dung where fuel failed;
Water where the mules had staled;
And sackcloth for their raiment!

"Wherefore being bought by blood,
And byblood restored
To the arms that nearly lost,
She, because of all she cost,
Stands, a very woman, most
Perfect and adored!"2

Of men, too, as well as nations, the test with Kipling as with Carlyle, is: what has he done? what can he do. When the pasteboard man, Tomlinson, sought admission to the heaven of the righteous he was impaled withthe question, "what ha' ye done?" And because he could record only feelings, and guesses, and hearsays, he was snatched to that realm more attractive than the stellar spaces because of its warmth. But at Hell, too, he was refused entrance because he had nothing to recount that he had done. The one criterion of man's character, and fitness for life is always with Kipling his acts. He frequently seems to say to

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2. Ibid p 118, 119.

^{1. &}quot;Collected Verse" p 67.



his reader what the horse, Tedda, said to the yellow horse, "What's the use o' talkin'? ... What kin ye do?" And in more elevated moods he treats deeds as the loftiest expression of human soul work done as the basis of judgment at the Last Day. M'Andrews chants:

"But I ha' lived an' I ha' worked. Be thanks to Thee, Most High! An' I ha' done what I ha' done - judge Thou if ill or well -"

Like Carlyle Kipling denounces with intense scorn the man who does nothing but enjoy sport. His contempt of the idle man united with his disgust at lack of imperial enthusiasm in "The Islanders." In that poem we find these verses:

"Ye set your leisure before their toil and your beasts above their Because of your witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase Ye grudge your sons to their service and your fields for their camping place."

Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls With flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.

Idle - openly idle - in the lee of the forespent Line. Idle - except for your boasting -. "3

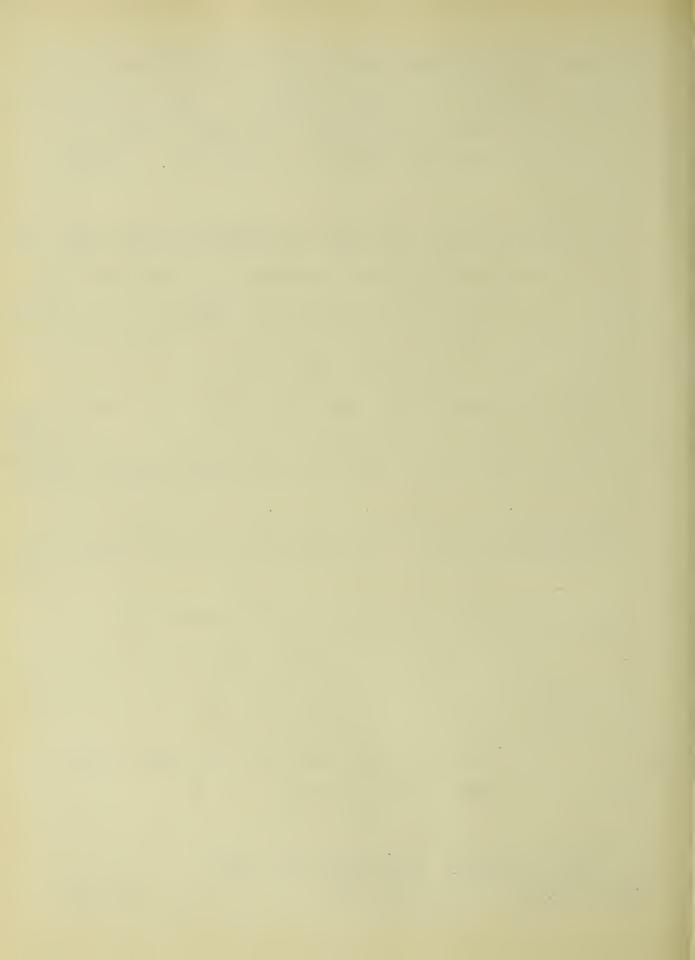
Kipling resembled his spiritual ancestor in preferring even the evil-doer to the do-nothing. The idle man is to him an obstacle and an anomaly as he was to Carlyle.

To the workers belongs the world. In a poem already quoted from, "The Wage Slaves", he says:

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"Collected Verse".pp 202, 203.

^{1. &}quot;A Walking Delegate". "The Day's Work" p 68.
2. "M'Andrew's Hymn". "Collected Verse" p 42.



"Wherefore to these the Fates shall bend
(And all old idle things ...)
Wherefore on these shall Power attend
Beyond the grip of kings:
Each in his place, by right not grace,
Shall rule his heritage The men who simply do the work
For which they draw the wage."

It seems apparent from Kipling's writings that he accepts Carlyle's theory that wise work accomplished by a universal hierarchy of labor under the direction of efficient captains of industry, who in turn are under allegiance to the great man, is to be the means of conducting sanely and rightly the world's life; and that the ideal Order, comprehending within itself the more limited industrial system of factory and commerce, would be a universal Order of Work.

Kipling also approaches the doctrine of work through that other avenue of Carlyle's. He despairs of gaining a wholesome attitude of mind by merely pondering; and he scoffs heartily at all abstract speculation. Through the entire fabric of his work gospel there is a subtle thread rurning which appears as a figure in the pattern, in the words of Maisie in "The Light that Failed", "Let's find things to do and forget things."²

Again and again the reader discerns as a subtle crimson thread the doctrine of work as a cure for doubt and disease. The successful old magnate Anthony Gloster admits to his son,

"Strict I stuck to my business, afraid to stop or I'd

^{1. &}quot;Collected Verse" p 209.

^{2.} p 7.



think." And in "Wressley of the Foreign Office" Kipling goes to the extreme of saying, "If men had not this delusion as to the ultra importance of their own work I suppose they would sit down and kill themselves."

It seems the height of absurdity to him for a person to take thought about his soul. Morbid he thinks the man who deliberately sets himself to discover his relationship with the universe and with his fellows. "Follow your intuition", he seems to say, "and - take it from me - go to work." There is abundant evidence that in "The Light that Failed" Kipling embodied much of his own moral opinion. In it Diek Heldar says sneeringly that some people "talked about Art and the state of their souls," adding "As if their souls mattered." And toward the close of the story when reverses of the gravest nature induce some seriousness in Diek his sophisticated companion says, "The truly healthy man doesn't know he has a soul. What business have you with doctrines of that kind?"4

Like his master-in-ideas, Kipling is convinced of the futility of a search for pleasure. He believes earthly experience is too rigorous for lovers of pleasure to weather the gales. The conception is given in "The Second Voyage":

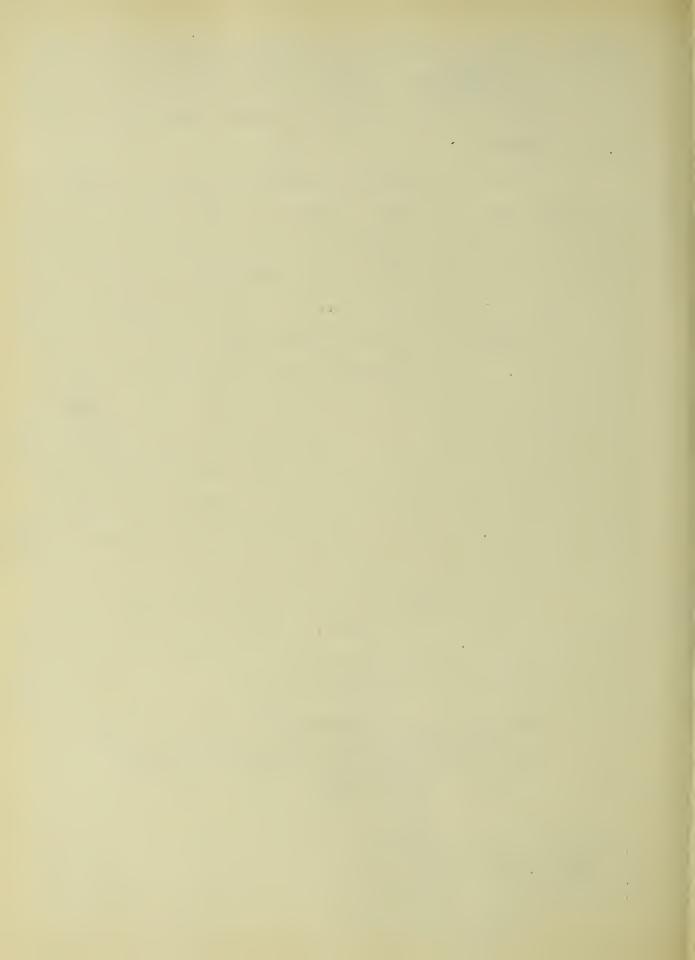
'Was Youth would keep no vigil at the bow
'Was Pleasure at the helm too drunk to steer We've shipped three able quartermasters now
We call them Custom, Reverence and Fear.

(Foul Weather)

^{1. &}quot;The Mary Gloster". "Collected Verse" p 46. 2. "Indian Tales" p 671.

^{3.} p 47.

^{4.} p 72.



What we find we needs must brook, but we do not go to look Nor tempt the Lord our God that saved us whole!"1 The bitter, crushing ordeals are bound to come, and we have got to face them. The simplest attitude to take is one of indifference - preoccupied with work. In "My Sunday at Home", Kipling says, "so long as a man trusts himself to the current of Circumstance, reaching out for and rejecting nothing that comes his way, no harm can overtake him."2

And to avoid mental distress over the evil, and to distract the mind from speculation as to how it can be in an orderly and just world the wise course is to find out what one can do, and lose himself in application to his stint. Carlyle is constantly declaring that the happy man is he who knows what to do. Kipling, "The Chimns are luckier than most folk, because they know exactly what they must do. "3

Evidently Kipling thinks that the most intelligent thing for mankind to say in the face of this enigmatical world, is "What the People Said":

> "But the wheat and the cattle are all my care, And the rest is the will of God. "4

There can be no sustained dissent from the conclusion that the strenuous modern apostle of work is a disciple of the acknowledged prophet of work. Kipling presents a message of work

[&]quot;Collected Verse" p 74.

 [&]quot;The Day's Work" p 374.
 "The Tomb of his Ancestors". "The Day's Work" p 110.

^{4. &}quot;Departmental Ditties, Ballads and Barrack-Room Ballads and other Verses."



closely similar to Carlyle in the following definite points: That Order, the goal of mankind, is attainable only by work; all achievements of the past are the outcome of work; that such work has the sanctity of religion; that work is, practically, a good in itself; that working not dreaming counts; that the permanence of work furnishes the real gratification of the worker, work well-done being its own reward; that noble work is desperately hard work; that work done is a sufficient test of merit, both in the case of nations, and in the case of individuals; that good work presupposes valor, industry, sagacity, toughness of muscle, toughness of heart, and a certain harmony with the laws of nature; that work accentuates those qualities, and tends to develop a true manhood; that work is the unremitting law of existence; that the idle man is unfit to live; that the world belongs to the worker; that when Order is established there will be a hierarchy of labor; that work is an effective cure for doubt, and anodyne for despair; that since unhappiness is inevitable in life the rational course is to renounce happiness, accept circumstances as they come, and devote oneself to duty; in short that the righteous, rational and necessary thing for man to do is work.



VIII. Tools.

carlyle, despite his dislike of the smoke and clangor and blare of the factory system of his day, recognized quite forcibly the fact that for the accomplishment of the industrial order of which he prophesied - indeed for a vast part of the Order-making work so sorely needed by society - an indispensable means was the use of tools. Tools in the sense of engines, looms, dynamite and drills, mechanical inventions of many kinds, and railroads and ocean steamers.

Unwilling though Carlyle was to acknowledge the permanent value of much that was new in his time, scornful though he often seemed of science, yet he accepted with not only complaisance, but actual appreciation, the fact that his was an age of machinery; for in tools he discerned the instruments of Order. Said he, in "The Signs of the Times":

"It is the Age of Machinery.... For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning abbreviating process is in readiness. ... The sailor furls his sail, and lays down his oar; and bids a strong, unwearied servant, on vaporous wings, bear him through the waters. Men have crossed oceans by steam; the Birmingham Fire-king has visited the fabulous East; and the genius of the Cape, were there any Camoeus now to sing it, has again been alarmed, and with far stronger thunders than Gamas. There is no end to machinery. Even the horse is stripped of his harness, and finds a fleet fire-horse



yoked in his stead. ... We remove mountains, and make seas our smooth highway; nothing can resist us. We war with rude Nature; and, by our resistless engines, come off always victorious, and loaded with spoils."

Now, since a victory over the malign or obstructive forces of nature has been made possible by tools, the inventors of the tools must be venerated among the noble benefactors of man, and the tools themselves must be supposed to be invested with power from on high. Carlyle wrote in his essay on "Chartism":

"It now turns out that this favored England was not only to have had her Shakespeares, Bacons, Sydneys, but to have her Watts, Arkwrights, Brindleys! We will honor greatness in all kinds. The Prospero evoked the singing of Ariel, and took captive the world with those melodies: the same Prospero can send his Fire-demons panting across all oceans; shooting with the speed of meteors, on cunning highways, from end to end of kingdoms; and make Iron his missionary, preaching its evangel to the brute Primeval Powers, which listen and obey: neither is this small.Manchester with its cotton-fuzz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor, is hideous to thee? Think not so: a precious substance, beautiful as magic dreams, and yet no dream but a reality, lies hidden in that noisome wrappage; ... Hast thou heard, with sound ears, the awakening of Manchester on Monday morning, at half-past five by the clock; the rushing-off of its

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^{1. &}quot;Miscellaneous Essays" v II, pp 59, 60.



thousand mills, like the boom of an Atlantic tide, ten-thousand times ten-thousand spools and spindles all set turning there, - it is perhaps, if thou knew it well, sublime as a Niagara; or more so."

The looms making innumerable bolts of cloth with such a whirlwind speed, the mammoth iron vessels converting, with their powerful swiftness, the expanse of the sea into a good-sized pond are very probably, Carlyle would say, as truly manifestations of the Supernal Power as (1) the most sublime of natural phenomena.

Tools, moreover - the use of tools marks man off from animals. In "Sartor Resartus" Carlyle declares, "Man is a Tool-using Animal ... Feeblest of bipeds! Three quintals are a crushing load for him; the steer of the meadow tosses him aloft, like a waste rag. Nevertheless he can use Tools, can devise Tools: with these the granite mountain melts into light dust before him; he kneads glowing iron as if it were soft paste; seas are his smooth highway, winds and fire his unwearying steeds. Nowhere do you find him without Tools; without Tools he is nothing, with Tools he is all."

There is in tools a magic as marvelous as that of a fairy wand or the budding rod of Aaron, or the pope. Most romantic are the achievements they perform. Tools therefore are a most fitting theme for the modern poet. In "Past and Present", Carlyle submits this opinion: "May it please your Serene Highnesses,

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2. p 30.

^{1. &}quot;Miscellaneous Essays" v IV pp 181, 182.



your Majesties, Lordships and Law-wardships, the proper Epic of this world is ... now 'Tools and the Man': that henceforth to all time, is now our Epic."

Tools being in our day the divinely sanctified means of doing the world's great deeds, and having appropriated the heroic power of the fabulous epic conqueror are now the fit subject of him who sings the tribal chronicle.

England was not long to lack a "Camoens - to sing" of the wonder of the "Birmingham Fire-King". For Kipling too saw - and who shall say Carlyle did not first direct his eyes to see - England's "Epic ... written in huge characters on the face of this planet." That epic remains no longer "unsung in words"; for Kipling has sung it, and with it the companion epic of the instrument that chiseled the record on the planet - the epic of "Tools and the Man".

One of the silencing replies to the detractors of Kipling who stigmatize him a music-hall entertainer is this, that he more than any other genius has been able to reveal an ideal and emotional value in things hard and mechanical. With consummate divination he has seen, and with strong imagination he has tried to disclose the genuine romance in tools.

He has done much to make young men and children understand that in the locomotive engine there is a wonder-working art as fascinating as that in the seven-league boots of old folk-tales;



that the machine-gun is concerned with exploits as astounding as the club of Hercules; and that the magic carpet of Arabian Nights is not more miraculous than an aeroplane. This he has done without importing mysterious elements, or assuming a nursery style. And he has convinced some older heads that furling the sails on ships did not mean laying aside romance, and that the stage-coach disappearing at the approach of the railway train, did not carry off all dash and picturesqueness.

In his poem, "The King", this poet of tools has set forth the idea that in every age of man, from the earliest, folk have attributed romance to the time just past. The same sort of fallacy, he thinks it, as that of the old men who sigh, "O tempora, O mores." He begins with prehistoric men:

"'Farewell Romance!' the Cave-man said;
'With bone well carved he went away,
'Flint arms the ignoble arrow-head,
'And jasper tips the spear today.
'Changed are the Gods of Hunt and Dance,
And he with these. Farewell, Romance!'"

So runs the lament each time men's invention replaces an inefficient instrument with a more efficient one. But though "the season tickets" mourn for Romance banished "with coach and guard and horn", yet really,

"all unseen Romance brought up the nine-fifteen.

"His hand was on the lever laid,
His oil-can soothed the worrying cranks,
His whistle waked the snowbound grade,
His fog-horn cut the reeking Banks;
By dock and deep and mine and mill
The Boy-god reckless laboured still!



"Robed, crowned and throned, he wove his spell,
Where heart-blood beat, or hearth-smoke curled,
With unconsidered miracle,
Hedged in a backward-gazing world:"1

In our age the Boy-god is laboring with tools. The more intricate, and highly developed the mechanism, the more fully is the tool animated with the romantic spirit. The conventional idea Kipling satirically opposed to his profounder conception of romance in "M'Andrew's Hymn":

"That minds me of our Viscount loon - Sir Kenneth's kin - the chap Wi' Russian leather tennis-shoon an' spar-decked yachtin'-cap. I showed him round last week o'er all - an' at the last says he: 'Mister M'Andrew, don't you think steam spoils romance at sea?' Damned ijjit! I'd been doon that morn to see what ailed the throws Manholin' on my back - the cranks three inches off my nose. Romance! Those first class passengers they like it very well, Printed an' bound in little books; but why don't poets tell? I'm sick of all their quirks an' turns - the loves an' doves they dream -

Lord send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam!
To match wi' Scotia's noblest speech you orchestra sublime
Whaurto - uplifted like the Just - the tail-rods mark the time.
The crank throws give the double-bass, the feed pump sobs an' feeds,
An' now the main eccentrics start their quarrel on the sheaves;
Her time, her own appointed time, the rocking link-head bides,
Till - hear that note? - the rod's return whings glimmerin' through
the guides.

They're all awa! True beat, full power, the clangin' chorus goes Clear to the tunnel where they sit, my purrin' dynamoes. Interpendence absolute, foreseen, ordained, decreed, To work, Ye'll note, at any tilt an' every rate o' speed. Fra skylight-lift to furnace-bars, backed, bolted, braced an' stayed,

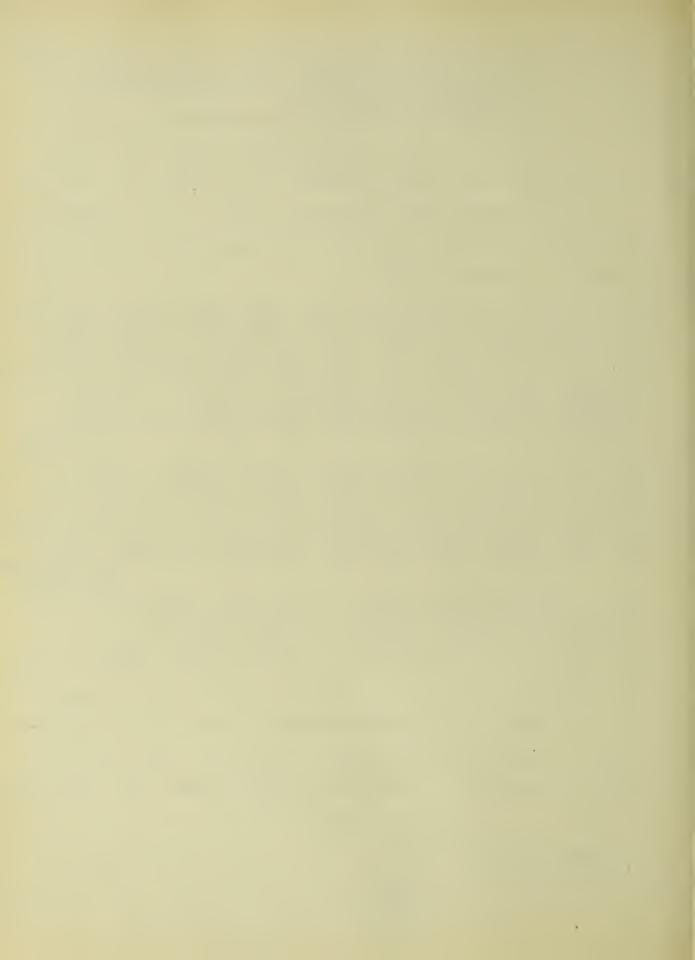
An' singin' like the Mornin' Stars for joy that they are made; "2 ed,

Thus Kipling discerns romance in the rhymthmic concerted action of steel bars and dynamoes. He believed that a man could have an intense, nay a religious affection for the tools with which

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2. Ibid pp 40, 41.

^{1. &}quot;Collected Verse" p 250.



he worked. His Scotch engineer sings in a sort of hymn:

"From coupler-flange to spindle-guide I see Thy Hand, O God Predestination in the stride o' you connectin'-rod
John Calvin might ha' forged the same-enormous, certain, slow Ay wrought it in the furnace-flame - my 'Institutio'.
I cannot get my sleep tonight; old bones are hard to please;
I'll stand the middle watch up here - alone wi' God an' these
My engines, after ninety days o' race an' rack an' strain.
Through all the seas of all They world, slam-bangin' home
again."

His firm conviction that there is romance in tools has led Kipling to use things mechanical in both verse and prose. He has short stories like "The Bridge Builders" in which bridge, crank, riveting machine and donkey engine are intimately dealt with; and "Bread Upon the Waters" in which the propeller and other pieces of a vessel's machinery play important parts. And he has other stories in which the entire interest is attached to tools. Such are: "007" the tale of a young passenger engine's initiation into the world of yard and roundhouse; "Wireless" the story of airship travel in a future century; "Steam Tactics" a narrative concerning a steam motor car; "The Devil and the Deep Sea", the story of a wrecked engine laboriously restored to usefulness; and "The Ship that Found Herself", an allegory of the slow and difficult unification of the integral parts of a liner. In certain of these stories of mechanical apparatus Kipling has overdrawn upon the imaginative value of tools, especially because many of the names of parts are unintelligible to all who lack knowledge of the details of machinery.

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1. "Collected Verse" pp 34, 35.



cables creep.

But his glorification of tools in poetry goes far toward making good his claim that in tools there lies genuine romance.

There follow representative lines from some of his poems of tools.

"The Coastwise Lights" chant:

"We bridge across the dark, and bid the helmsman have a care, The flash that wheeling inward wakes his sleeping wife to prayer."

In that same "Song of the English", "The Deep-Sea Cables" sing:

"There is no sound, no echo of sound, in the deserts of the deep,
Or the great grey level plains of ooze where the shell-burred

"Here in the womb of the world - here on the tie-ribs of earth Words, and the words of men, flicker, and flutter and beat - Warning, sorrow, and gain, salutation and mirth - For a Power troubles the Still that has neither voice nor feet."

"Mammoth iron vessels" were tools which won the special admiration of Carlyle; and it is in ships that Kipling finds most prominent the romance of machinery. He gives a song to many kinds of craft. Sings "The Derelict":

"I was the staunchest of our fleet
Till the sea rose beneath our feet
Unheralded, in hatred past all measure,
Into his pits he stamped my crew,
Buffeted, blinded, bound and threw,
Bidding me eyeless wait upon his pleasure.

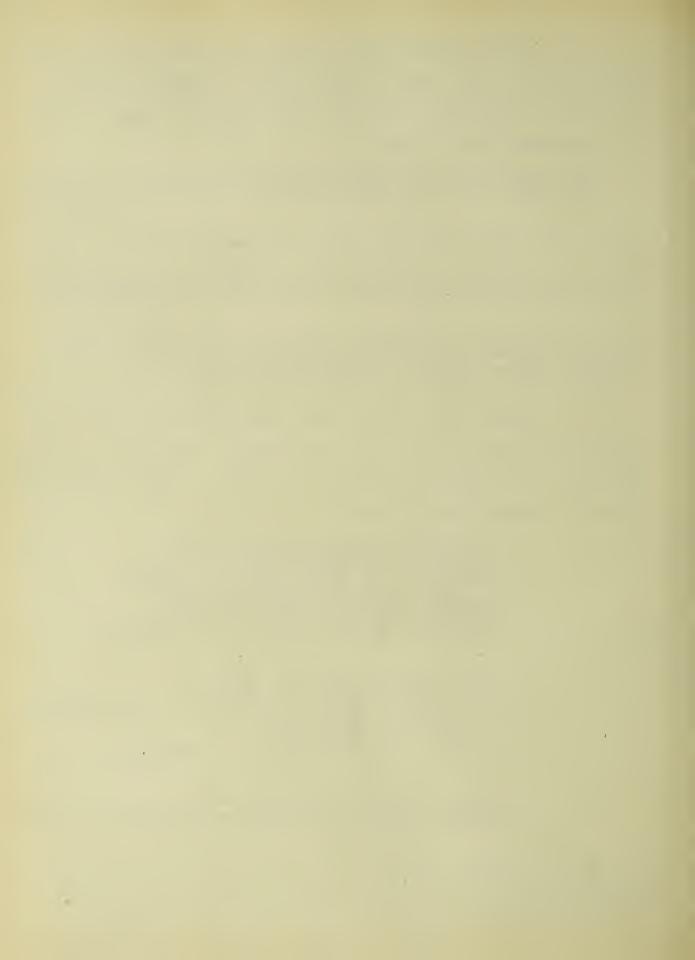
"Wrenched as the lips of thirst,
Wried, dried, and split and burst,
Bone-bleached my decks, windscoured to the graining;
And jarred at every roll
The gear that was my soul
Answers the anguish of my beams' complaining.

"My hawse-pipes' guttering wail, Sobbing my heart out through the uncounted watches!"3

^{1. &}quot;Collected Verse" p 85.

^{2.} Ibid p 89.

^{3.} Ibid p 65.



In the drifting hulk Kipling imagined a heart; and he regarded its gear as a soul. In another poem the cargo-boats unite in a song of their work:

"The Liner she's a lady, an' she never looks nor 'eeds The Man-o'-War's 'er 'usband, an' 'e gives 'er all she needs;
But, oh, the little cargo-boats, that sail the wet seas roun',
They're just the same as you an' me a-plyin' up an' down!"

"The Liner she's a lady, an' 'er route is cut an' dried;
The Man-o'-War's 'er 'usband, an' 'e always keepsbeside;
But, oh, the little cargo-boats that 'aven't any man,
They're got to do their business first, and make the most they
can!"

"The Liner she's a lady, but if she wasn't made,
There still would be the cargo-boats for home and foreign trade.
The Man-o'-War's 'er 'usband, but if we wasn't 'ere,
'E wouldn't have to fight at all for 'ome an' friends so dear."

And the song of cruisers runs:

"As our mother the Frigate, bepainted and fine, Made play for her bully the Ship of the Line; So we, her bold daughters by iron and fire, Accost and decoy to our master's desire."

"So times past all number deceived by false shows, Deceiving we cumber the road of our foes, For this is our virtue: to track and betray; Preparing great battles a sea's width away."?

"The Destroyers" sing:

"The strength of twice three thousand horse

That seeks the single goal;
The line that holds the rending course,

The hate that swings the whole:

The stripped hulls sinking through the gloom,

At gaze and gone again
The Brides of Death that wait the groom
The Choosers of the Slain!"3

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- 1. "The Liner She's a Lady". "Collected Verse" pp 75, 76.
- 2. "Collected Verse" pp 58, 59.

3. Ibid p 60.



Another kind of tool for which Kipling had a great weakness was the machine-gun. In "Screw-Guns" occur the following lines:

"It's only the pick of the army that handles the dear little pets - 'Tss! 'Tss!

For you all love the screw-guns - the screw guns they all love you!"1

The poems from which the foregoing selections were made are parts of the "Epic of Tools and the Man" which Kipling is writing. He is thereby fulfilling the prognostication of him who was his master in ideas. Carlyle discovered the mineral pocket, and from it Kipling is bringing forth sparkling treasures.



IX. Conclusion. 1

Carlyle exerted a broad and deep influence upon Kipling. From the fact that Carlyle was the most powerful man of letters in his day it would be natural to expect that an aspiring young author would read his works with attention. All the writings of Carlyle were surcharged with a new and vitally arresting message, which gave direction and propulsion to the reaction against democratic sentimentality. Hence they made a distinct and deep impression on the writers of the younger generation. Hany thinkers opposed much of Carlyle's message. Those who accepted it gained thereby a large and concrete accession to their mental treasury.

Now it is obvious that Kipling did not contend against the main ideas of the Scottish seer. He must therefore, if he read what Carlyle wrote, have been deeply affected by his teachings.

But suppose, for some reason, Kipling refused homage to to all literary idols of the time; and read nothing except the most conspicuous of Carlyle's books, and those without study. Even so, he could not have been exempt from the influence of Carlyle. For the ideas of Carlyle appeared on the pages of almost every serious thinker who wrote in English in the third quarter of the century. Moreover the ideas of Carlyle were to no small degree alive in the minds of the strong men with whom Kipling associated; and, indeed, they found embodiment to some extent in the imperial policy in India.

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1. See final pages of Appendix.



In short, it is inconceivable that Kipling did not in his young manhood come under the shadow of Carlyle.

Now, I have shown that in world view there are marked resemblances between Kipling and Carlyle. And I have made it plain that Kipling holds distinctly Carlylese views about five cardinal doctrines emphasized chiefly in the messages of both writers. Kipling follows Carlyle in asserting that in the long run might and right are identical. He agrees with him that the ideal society is one in which a military Order founded on obedience shall prevail. He says after Carlyle that such Order must be maintained by a paternalistic government which shall insure to each individual the rewards and punishments due his actions. Kipling accepts the great doctrine of Carlyle that the able man, who is needed to guide and command all men through his subordinate governors must be amply endowed with valor, sincerity and insight. He vigorously preaches the gospel enunciated first by Carlyle, that the righteous, rational and necessary thing for man to do in this world is to work. And besides embracing and passing on to all his readers the great creed drawn up by Carlyle Kipling has followed his prophetic hint and sung the song of tools.

Therefore it seems very highly probable that Carlyle did exert a profound and broad influence on Kipling.



Appendix

Additional Points of Likeness

It is very interesting to discover what a far reaching similarity exists between Ripling and Carlyle.

After the black handkerchief of literary classic taboo is drawn from our eyes similarities become very evident between the salient literary characteristics of the two men. 1

I have said that Kipling made no use of quotations and allusions. In that statement an important modification must be made. The Greek and Latin classics, and the masterpieces of our language were despoiled of none of their jewels to ornament Hipling's stories or his verse. He was no patron of those literary lapidaries who compile "Familiar Quotations". The Bible, however, surprising as the fact is, was a veritable Ali Baba's cave to Hipling, tho it may be remarked in passing that he never forgot the "Open Lesame" and suffered restraint therein. He employs countless allusions to Scriptural stories and utterances; he frequently misquotes, and repeatedly quotes, seriously on occasion, more often to give a ludicrous turn, and once in a while he is downright sacrilegious. In this he discloses kinship with Carlyle. In most instances Carlyle's use of the Bible was serious. Both men found ready vehicle for primitive and Hebraic conceptions in the sonorous periods of the Old Testament.

¹⁾ It must be acknowledged at this point that the discussion of the two authors is entirely inadequate as an appreciation of their individual genius. The obvious reason for this is that I am here concerned only to exhibit resemblances.

²⁾ It is interesting to note that both Kipling's maternal and his paternal grandfathers were clergymen. Cf. "A Ken of Kipling", pp.9,10



For readers of these two literary men an amusing exercise might be prepared from a collection of the critical comments passed upon them; however no one would care to spend long at the puzzle as only the blind goddess could insure to them a correct guess as to which of the two authors was under discussion in a given case. To illustrate by remarks concerning style: "its jerkiness and its lack of emotional restraint", "graphic power in conjunction with imaginative insight and a vein of tenderness", "somewhat brutal but intentional roughness", "union of fiery descriptive power with nobility of feeling", "unsurpassed for vigor of diction combined with an imaginative power that holds the reader". Possibly the last quotation would betray the identity of the subject of the remarks; but it would be an amply rewarded and interesting, if arduous diversion to select from almost any of Carlyle's writings a convincing corroboration of each one of those points. These acute words of More are exquisitely appropriate to Carlyle: " ... dranatic power, his skill in telling a story, his mastery of the clinging epithet, his pulsating language and sturdy rhythms ..."; 2 but they are written of Kipling.

That amazing interchangeability of critical estimates is due neither to garbled extracts, nor to a chance coincidence. One marked characteristic which early delights the reader of either Carlyle or Kipling is the almost limitless power of description. By adroit use of words, and artistic repression and selection of details

¹⁾ Article on Hipling by Rudolph C. Lehman in Chamberlain's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. New Edition v 3 pp 710, 711.

²⁾ Shelburne Essays 2 p 112.



either writer is able to present to the mind of the reader living pictures of an infinite number of things. "I think you see as pictures every street, church, Parliament-house, barracks, baker's shop, mutton stall, forge, wharf, and ship, and whatever stands, creeps, rolls, or swims thereabout, and make all your own", said Emerson of Carlyle's description. Kipling makes one see and understand an aeroplane in full career, a bridge-construction gang at work, an inn-full of riotous sailors from every shore, the mongoose in death battle with the cobra, a beautiful woman at a masquerade, and all the fury and wild tumult and gore of a hand-to-hand fight with the Paythans, and so on into every field of existence; and the remarkable thing about it is that it is all real and accurate. Engineers and sailors and native Hindus and soldiers applaud with hardly a dissenting voice. A like accuracy was noteworthy in Carlyle. It is reported that students in German military schools were required to familiarize themselves with the battle descriptions in "Frederick the Great", in connection with their study of tactics. In addition to the marvelous imagination of the two masters of description, surpassing receptivity to every kind of impression and extremely retentive memory for detail are the chief qualities which make their descriptions excel in accuracy and picturesqueness. And yet we have the "conviction of absolute truthfullness to the impression made on a powerful idiosyncracy", as Leslic Stephen says of Carlyle's descrip tions, without undue exaggeration of detail or emphasis on any point

^{1) &}quot;Thomas Carlyle" by Leslie Stephen. Library of World's Best Literature v 8 p 3325.



which does not in some way intensify the impression. It is true however that their love of detail was so extraordinary that they each use more than is always essential to the beauty of their depictions; and not infrequently a fasticious reader finds these pictures lacking in elegance. Augustine Birrell says of Carlyle's descriptive faculty, "No one at all acquainted with his writings can fail to remember his almost excessive love of detail; his lively taste for facts, simply as facts. In how men laughed, cried, swore, were all of huge interest to Carlyle." Indeed both hen seem to see everything, and whatever they have seen they have the gift of making others see. But each of the writers in his survey of the panorana he observes and delineates finds some sort of a significant meaning.

Allied closely to and dependent upon the superior power of description of Carlyle and of Kipling is their genius for relating an incident. Not only Kipling revels in narrating a fine story, Carlyle was likewise extremely facile in story-telling. No infrequently does he indulge in that pleasure even at the expense of an excursion from the trend of his argument. Poth are masters of vividness, interest, aptness of word, and piquancy. And they are alike in possessing an acute sense of the ludricous. In the writings of

¹⁾ One might easily imagine that Kipling had been impressed by these words addressed by Carlyle, in a letter, to Samuel Eamford: "the first is to be brief not to dwell on an object one instant after you have made it clear to the reader, and, on the whole, to be select in your objects taken for description, dwelling on each in proportion to its likelihood to interest, omitting many in which such likelihood is doubtful." Such at all events was precisely the method of both authors.

^{2)&}amp; 3) "Obiter Dicta" p 9. Augustine Birrell.

⁴⁾ Letter published in Moncure Conway's "Thomas Carlyle)



each of them is constantly appearing vigorous and amusing, if cynical humor. Indeed liveliness is given to most of their pages by pointed and yet amiable satire.

An even more conspicuous artistic quality common to both Kipling and Carlyle is force. Vitality inheres in every sentence, every word indeed of each of them. In stentorian tones Carlyle voices his denunciations, and declares and interprets the immutable laws of the universe. Ind with no less vehemence Kipling rails at the "muddied oafs" on "the Islands", and sings the Song of the Young Len. And not only is there great vigor in their frequent prophetic utterances, but in most subdued passages there is the same dynamic quality. A definite, sharp perception is desired, and almost invariably the effective device is hit upon. But as Professor Phelps remarks, "the tendency to coarseness is inseparable from force". and that finds illustration not only in Kipling's "eternal fortissimo" but somewhat also in the sterner prose of Carlyle. It is a pleasure to both men to "call a spade a spade", and they not only secure freshmess by very boldly making use of words and conceptions regarded in our day as improper for promiscuous use, but they delight in repeated and unrestrained employment of just those things. 3 A few words from "Upiter Dicta" reinforce my aspersions

¹⁾ Walt V. itman says in "Specimen Days", when speaking of Carlyle, "Rugged, mountainous, volcanic, he was himself more a French Revolution than any of his volumes."
"Essays on Rodern Hovelists" p 220. W. I. Phelps.

³⁾ Ripling's mulvany and Mrs. Hanksbee and captains' wives and a great many of his characters "play tenk is with the eighth command-ment" to the apparent entertainment of the author, and as sugusting Berrel says, Carlyle "may pour scorn upon you for looking grave, as you read in his vivid pages of the reckless manner in which too many of his heroes drove coaches-and-six through the Ten Commandments." Chiter Dicta p 23.



against Carlyle. "Carlyle has thrown himself open ... to the charge one usually associates with the great and terrible name of Dean Swift; but ... The former deliberately pelts you with dirt, ... the latter only occasionally splashes you." This flippancy is to a degree a protest against iron-clad conventionality, and while not in the least calculated to lend sanctity to the great mystery of life. it is never, in either case morbid. Both men are on occasion inclined to irreverence; indeed some earnost-minded individuals would denominate Hipling blasphemous. What right be their astonishment to learn that Carlyle according to the poet Tennyson, who was a frequent guest at his home, was "the most reverent and the most irreverent man I know."2

However there is in both Kipling and Carl, le a fundamental seriousness. There has rurely lived a more utterly earnest man than Carlyle. Throughout his life, and in all his works, the search for the final truth is the redominant element. Even his non-conformity and his contempt for all conventions here the fruits of his austere devotion to truth. The excessive blackguardism, and lawlessness of Julyaney, and Pyecroft and Tost or Kipling's characters, as well as the delight taken in Hipling by frivolous and superficial novel-readers easily deceives the unwary into, and establishes the hostile in the opinion that levity is paramount in Hipling. This, however, is a gross misapprehension. Of even Julyaney Henry James says, "I asn't he the tongue of a hoarse stren, and hasn't he also

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¹⁾ Obiter Dicta, pp. 14, 15. Augustine Birrell.
2) "Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir" v 2 p 233. Hallam Jennyson.



mysteries and infinities almost Carlylese?" The fact is Kipling is well aware that coarse and barbaric men are pretty sure to have a very interesting world view, and he stands in the small group, of which Dickens is the towering figure, who possess the sympathy, and the mastery of ordinary words, and the gift of ascute selection of detail, which enable them to make such characters live and express themselves in books. But Kipling not orly sees a significance in his knavish heroes and heroines; he holds as I have shown some exexceedinly concrete tenets, and in one way or another he constantly gives them utterance, now by insinuation and then by explicit statement. In his stories, which we should nefariously misconstrue if we attempted to deduce precepts from them, one indubitably does find subtly evinced Kipling's attitude toward men and many things. In his poetry he openly proclaims many a deep conviction. And no reader of his could take unbrage at the declaration that not a few of his verses are expressly moral.

The manner of Kipling as a story-teller conveys the illusion of perfect nonchalance. In the words of his most recent reviewer, "He constantly assumed a studied pose, the pose of the man for whom life contains no surprises, the weary cynic who is quite sure that he knows trecisely what is wrong with the world and smiles with the infinite superiority of vast experience over the follies of potentates and governments." And yet his ever present veneration for the sterling qualities of the were man who is a man,

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^{1) &}quot;Views and Reviews" p 232. "Ir. Kipling's Stories."
2) F. T. Cooper. "Some English Story Tellers." Chapter on Kipling p 128.



and his occasional portrayal of an entirely noble character like Scott in "William the Conqueror", or the Brushwood Boy, counteract and very pleasantly modify the impression of amused indifference to vice and coarseness. The more one knows of him the more open he becomes to the conviction that indeed rectitude is an essential attribute of Kipling's ideal. True glimpse of the author himself in his admirable earnestness is to be had in this description of "Lressly of the Foreign Office": "His heart and his soul were at the end of his pen, and they got into the ink. He was dowered with sympathy, insight, humor and style ... He had his vast special knowledge with him so to speak; but the spirit, the woven-in human touch, the poetry and the power of the output, were beyond all special knowledge."1

A concomitant of this morul earnestness of Carlyle and Kipling which might almost be taken for granted is marked self-consciousness. Both men are very anxious to commit to writing exactly what they have in their minds; but that is not all. Is much might be posited with regard to Shalespeare, but they were unti-types of Shakespeare in this, that he completely suffused and obscured his personality, while they each are notorious for throwing their own profiles on the screen. It is as though in interpreting the scene their absorption betrays thou into leaning forward and intercepting some of the rays from the lantern.

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3) Hibrary of World's Best Literature v 8 p 3231. Sketch introducing selections from Carlyle.

^{1) &}quot;Plain Tales from the Hills", Rudjurd Kipling.

²⁾ Of Carlyle Leslie Stophen says, "Tach of his books was wrenched from him," and perfected "by a spiritual agony;" a fact assignable I may say to the intense desire to say perfectly what he thought and saw and felt.



Each of the authors has a positive soul, and what he opines he knows. Hence both are intensely dognatic. One reader exclaims exasperatedly of Hipling that he is "always certain beyond human certainty, and almost always wrong." Ind that Carlyle was not less self-assured is illustrated by a few of the epithets he hurled at reformers who disagreed with him: "delirious, traitorous, mob-leader, impotent, loud, maddest, beavers, hogs and asses and beasts of the field and the slum, inane, loquacious, shamwise."

In their versatility and picturesqueness of description, their forcefullness with its corollaries, and in their seriousness, Carlyle and Kipling tore, then, strikingly similar. With regard to their literary qualities one more vital resemblance remains to be remarked upon. It is inevitable that the force which is such a preëminent quality in their writings should become noticed first and most pronouncedly in their diction. Excessive use of the exclamation and italics are but minor technical manifestations of this common quality. In sentence structure and in choice or manufacture of word³ they recognize no rules or requirements superior to their inner demand for emphasis. Some of the most anomalous words and amorphous constructions in all literature are to be found in the works of Kipling and Carlyle. Some sentences call to hind that early Greek Cosmology which explained all creation as a charce assembling of heterogeneous parts, whirling about in a chaotic vor-

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¹⁾ F. L. Colby, "The Writer Who Doesn't Care". Bookman v 15 p 3557.
2) "Shooting riagara" p 452 et als.

³⁾ If it would contribute materially to whis thesis extensive citations could be made to show to what length both authors carried the habit of word-manufacture. Two German scholars have assumed the undertaking for the respective authors, and to them and their ilk I will leave it, merely illustrating Carlyle's use from "Past and Present", "vehiculating, giant-looking, suneyed, bedinnered, mass-brayings, doabler."



This obliviousness of the canons of rhetoric is far more offensive, as a rule, to the pedantic teacher of elementary grammar than to the cultivated reader who is keen for ideas. It is thus that Thoreau appraises the diction of Carlyle, "his experience has furnished him with such a store of winged, ay and legged words. ... Nature is ransacked and all the resorts and purlieus of humanity are taxed, to furnish the fittest symbol for his thought." Richard Le Gallien says in his "Rudy and Kipling, A Criticism", 2 "he belongs to the same modern, rebellious school as Carlyle or Browning, a school determined to say the eternal thing in the contemporary way, and yet say it eternally too." The reason why the contemporary way attracted these men was that it is the mode, other requisites being duly preserved, which is most impressive to the contemporary reader. I submit that most of the idiosyncrasies of style in Carlyle and Hipling are directly traceable to their instinctive and also conscious exaltation of force, although this tendency was undoubtedly crystalized in Ripling by his long journalistic apprenticeship, and strength ened in Carlyle by his earl, study of Jean Paul Richter, and more by his father's sententious and "glowing" speech. To quote once more from Barrie's very commendatory review, "He wants perpetually to take his readers by surprise, and has them, as it were, at the end

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^{1) &}quot;A Yankee in Canada" pp 218, 219.

²⁾ pill.
3) Carlyle wrote of his father: "Emphatic I have heard him beyond all men. In anger he had no need of oaths; his words were like sharp arrows that smote into the very heart." Froude's Life of Thomas Carlyle v l p 16. Carlyle attributed his "poor style" mainly to his father and his "mother, and her inward melodies of heart and voice." Ibid v l p 324.



of a string which he is constantly pulling." That epigram is almost as fitting a description of the stylistic devices of Carlyle as of Kipling. Hr. Edmund Gosse says Kipling's style has "a good deal too much of the rattle of the piano at some cafe concert;" one might venture to balance that by declaring that by Carlyle's resounding shorts, and diapason rumbles we are reminded of his own wild and rugged highland bulls. What Gosse in a later paragraph exclaims of Kipling I could subscribe to of him, and also of Carlyle, "He is vehement, and sweeps us away with him; he plays upon a strange and seductive pipe, and we follow him like children."2 So admitting the correctness of the great French critic's assertion about Carlyle, as true of both, one may say, "Indeed 'His phraseology is broken and hammered out;"3 but while the insistence upon force has produced flaws in rhetoric,

> 'Tis a divine and transcendental hobbling! Rough, smoke-begrimed, and haggard like old Vulcan. His forged words are spears and shields and swords, And helmets terror-crested, Corgon-like: Meet armor for an age of heroic workers . "4

A second pronounced resemblance between Carlyle and Kipling lies in their mutual scorn of art for art's sake. In view of the fact that each of the authors has expressed himself repeatedly and with directness on this matter I will here present a few illuminating extracts.

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^{1) &}quot;Mr. Kipling's Stories". "Contemporary Review" v 59 p 366.

^{2) &}quot;Rudyard Kipling". "Century" v 42 p 902.
3) Edmund Schere. "Essays on English Literature"; "Thomas Carlyle"

p 232. 4) Milo Mahan. "Yorkshireman in Boston".



Carlyle's attitude toward "fine literature" is shown in a letter written from London to Liss Welsh, "They despise or overlook the common blessedness which Providence has laid out for all his creatures, and try to substitute for it a distilled quintessence prepared in the alembic of painters and rhymers and sweet singers. ... There is no soul in these vapid articles." in "Past and Present" he laments the fact that "Luch has been written: but the perennial Scriptures of Lankind have lad small accession: from all English books in rhyme or prose ..., how many verses have been added to these? Our most melodious singers have sung from the throat outwards: ... "2 and while in his youth he wrote, "It may be enough to sanction any pursuit that it gratified an innocent and still more an honorable propensity of the human mind" his mature counsel made an exception of Literature, in the sense in which the dilettantes conceived of it. He said, "don't go into 'Fiction', you Aristos, nor concern yourself with "Fine Literature", or Coarse ditto, or the unspeakable clories and rewards of pleasing your generation."4 Elsewhere he wrote "The jungle of maudlin persons with their mere (even genuine sensibility is unspeakably fatiguing to me. "5

The antagonish of Kipling for "Art" as such, was no less intense. In "The Conundrum of the Workshops" he pours ridicule

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¹⁾ Froude's Life of Thomas Carlyle v 1 p 221.

Letter written Dec. 1815. "Thomas Carlyle". Honcure Conway. "Shooting Liagara". Liscellaneous Essays pp 443, 444.

Extract from Journal: Froude's Life of Thomas Carlyle. v II p 66. "Departmental Ditties and Other Verse", p. 170.



upon the practice of testing all works by conventional standards of art. I quote a representative stanza,

"When the flush of a new-born sun fell first on Eden's green and gold,

Our father Adam sat under the Tree and scratched with a stick in the mould;

And the first rude sketch that the world had seen was joy to his mighty heart,

Till the devil whispered behind the leaves: "It's pretty, but is it art?"

and in "The Light that Failed" Ripling more than once takes a fling at the conception of art whose devotees would prefer a "military tailor's pattern plate" with pipe-clayed helmet, polished gun, polished boots, shaven chin, and an "air of fatted peace", and "lovely red coat without a speck on it", to a sympathetic painting of a British soldier disheveled, and bleeding with the madness of the conflict in his face and posture. It was Ripling's voice that sneered forth from Dick Heldar's lips in contempt of "every woman who yelps and maunders and moans over what her guide books tell her is art."

To such forceful natures as Kipling and Carlyle art which expressed "human aspiration for Supernal Beauty," and seeks to achieve that by narrowly practicing certain pedantic specifications is indeed contemptible. Nevertheless art in what they regard as its true conception is sacred, and worthy of all honor in the eyes of both men. To be sure they would both be banished as imposters from the choir of the melancholy and fantastic court in which Poe

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3) Kipling somewhere said, "Fothing can be wholly beautiful that is not useful.

¹⁾ p 72. 2) Edgar Allen Poe, "The Poetic Principle". "Essays and Wiscellanies", p. 290.



would assemble all genuine artists. But Kipling would step briskly forth with a curling lip, and Carlyle would shake his fist with a jeering laugh as he saw above the portal through which he emerged. the words of the precocious chorister, "A poem deserves its title only inasmuch as it excites by elevating the soul." his departing steps would be firm and his anger would be aroused not because he was excommunicated from the precincts of true genius, but that he had been maliciously inveigled into such a den of dilletantes. Lis judgment is emphatic, "It is a damnable heresy in criticism to maintain either expressly or implicitly that the ultimate object of poetry is sensation."2 The unfailing criterion for him is, "Are we wiser, better, holier, stronger."3

Both Carlyle and Kipling are truly artists. Both consciously endeavor to be artists. And both have a liberal but definite and rigorous artistic creed. So striking is the similarity between their respective conceptions of literature that an examination of them will further strengthen the conviction that Hipling actually is just the type of electrical instrument to detect and transmit the powerful but excentric currents discharged by Carlyle.

In many forms Carlyle iterated his opinior that real books are man's most divine achievement. He says, "Of the things which man can do or make here below, by far the most momentous, wonderful

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eous", p 266. (Underscoring is line).
2) Entry in Carlyle's Journal Dec. 3, 1826. Froude's Thomas Carlyle, v 1 p 304.

3) "Sartor Resartus" p 130.

¹⁾ Edgar Allen Poe, "The Poetic Principle". "Essays and Liscellan-



and worthy are the things we call Books!" Books are of measureless value for the reason that they are "thaumaturgic", that they "can persuade men". "Greater than all recorded mirecles have been performed by Pens", he declares. And no less aware of the significance and sanctity of his vocation is he who has taken upon himself what Carlyle called "work for the highest mristos", and is endeavoring "to sing", "in parts and statches" "the History of England". "The hipling's invocation of the "True Rome) ce" is devoutly intense. There is nothing trifling or sording in these lines:

"Enough for me in dreams to see
And touch Thy garment's hem Thy feet have trod so near to God
I may not follow them"

"Since spoken word lan's spirit stirred Beyond his belly need, "That is is Thine of fair design In thought and craft and deed

"Who holds by Thee hath heaven in fee To gild his dross thereby, And knowledge sure that he endure A child until he die."

The conception that literary preation is as Carlyle declares "the most miraculous of all things man has devised", 7 finds impressive embodiment in Hipling's "The Last Thyme of the True Thomas". The minstrel rejects proferred knighthood because,

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2) "Sartor Resartus" p 130.

3) Ibid p 150.

4) "Shooting Liagara" p 445.

6) and 7) (next page)

^{1) &}quot;Heroes and Hero-Jorship", p 219.

⁵⁾ From an editorial in the "Jutlook" reprinted in Liv. Age v 249 p 701 I quote: "The special correspondent, if in the hurly-burly of particular skirmishes he can keep his eye on the creative spirit of empire, may under the gift of the word write a tribal record which shall be honorable as literature forever. ... he has shown the thing to be possible and splendid ... r. "ipling ... has round a new way."...



as he said,

"My lance is tipped o' the hammered flame My shield is beat o' the moonlight cold; And I won my spurs in the Middle World",1

and he craved nothing the King could bestow for he could create Honor and Shame, and could as he proved exercise absolute sway over the minds of men. When Kipling describes him as proudly saying,

"I ha' harpit you up to the throne of God,

I ha' harpit your secret soul in three;

I ha' harpit you down to the Hinges o' Hell,"1

he is himself declaring the power and hence the majesty of true literature.

Though Kipling did regretfully say of "The True Romance", "Thy face is far from this our war", 2 and though Carlyle did insist that "Literature, when noble, is not easy", 3 neither of the two writers abated an ounce of his energy in the endeavor to produce genuine art. An evidence of their constant attempt to attain the highest in their industry and patience in composition. Not only did Carlyle give himself unreservedly and completely to the subject in hand, but he also contrived an exposition that was a true incarnation of his thought before he would put pen to paper. His motto was "nullo die sine linea", but when he wrote the essay on

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- 6) Used as Invocation, or, Poem to "Many Inventions".
- 7) "Heroes and Hero Worship" p 212.

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- 1) "The Last Rhyme of the True Thomas." "The Seven Seas." 2) "The True Romance". "Many Inventions".
- 3) "Past and Fresent" p 130.



Voltaire, he sat before the blank page headed "Voltaire" for days, waiting until an exactly satisfactory mode of a proach suggested itself to him. Every paragraph he ever wrote was from the depths of his soul, and not a line was allowed to stand if it was not precisely what he thought.

One must admit that Hipling was less rigid in his perfecting and revising in his early word. Lut he is, however, exceedingly exacting of himself. He is very regular and assiduous at his writing, but what is more to the point, he too required of himself adequate and accurate utterance. According to W. B. Parker, "Mr. Kipling admits throwing five-sixths of all he writes into the waste basket." His manuscript the same writer informs us "is scored, interlined, marked, and crisscrossed with crasures, changes, ellisions, transitions, until often scarcely a fifth of the original remains unchanged."

Kiplinglas beautifully written a fantasy of the life after we have lain down "for an aeon or two", and in it we find expressed his literary aspiration. The last stanza runs,

"And only the Master shall praise us, and only the Master shall blame

And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame, But each for the joy of the working, and each, in his separate

Shall draw the Thing as he sees It for the God of Things as they are."3

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¹⁾ In a letter to his brother John Carlyle wrote, in 1830, "If my writing cannot be sold it shall at least have been written out of my own heart." To importunate interviewers, at New York in February, 1899, on his way to his triumph in England, Ripling made this remark, Every effort of art is an effort to be sincere. hese is no surer guide I am sure than to determine to tell the truth one feels. It is quoted in "A Ken of Kipling" by "lemens.

2) "Rudyard Kipling". "Torld's Work" v 15 p 9922.

3) "L'Envoi" to "The Seven Seas".



Presenting actual life in all its sordidness, and beastliness, and harshness, and yet bringing out the picturesqueness and the bravery and the brilliance is the consistent though perhaps it would be unjust to say the sole aim of Kipling. He entertains folk

"With the feasting and the folly and the fun And the lying and the lusting and the drink,
And the merry play that drops you, when you're done,"

and to do so is his aim, but he now and again points

"To the thoughts that burn like irons if you think".

Therefore he is in the major doctrine of his literary creed quite in harmony with Carlyle's ideal for literature. Carlyle wrote once to a young writer, "For the rest, one principle, I think ... may be enough to guide you: that of standing rigorously by the fact, however naked it look."

But Kipling has given formal and pronounced statement of his conception of literature. In a toast on "Literature" he took as a sort of text the following legend: "When a man first achieved a most notable deed he wished to explain to the tribe what he had done. As soon as he began to speak, however, he was smitten with dumbness, he lacked words, and sat down. Then there arose - according to the story - a masterless man, one who had taken no part in the action of his fellows, who had no special virtues, but afflicted - that is the phrase - with the magic of the necessary words. He saw, he told, he described the merits of the notable

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the address are to be found in Living Age v 249 p 701, and in a discussion entitled "Kipling on the Magic of Words", Current Literature v 41 pp 42-43.

^{1) &}quot;The Song of the Banjo" to "The Seven Seas".

²⁾ Letter, published in Manchester Examiner, addressed to Samuel Banford, with enthusiastic thanks for his "Life of a Radical".

Transcript made from copy in Conway's Thomas Carlyle p 60.

3) Before the Royal Academy at a banquet in June 1906. Extracts from



deed in such a fashion, we are assured, that the words 'became alive' and walked up and down in the hearts of his hearers." The "masterless man" he made the prototype of the literary man. The man with the magic of words who can see and describe the great deads of the tribe so that he can make the narrative animate in the hearts of men - he is the true literary artist. In other words Hipling's belief is that an author should perpetuate in vital chronicle the real romance of the life of the people, revealing the charm that is obscured from the casual spectator. He should follow the army and the navy, and the adventurer into whatever fields - of exploration, of discovery, or of invention; and lay hold of and make illustrious the romantic facts. As one commentator on the toast pointed out, his theory implies, in so far as we base our judgment of that utterance, that the function of literature is merchy to report, and not at all to inspire. But as that same writer says that is a "Carlyle fallacy". For Carlyle expressed quite the same sentiment in these words, "Homer shall be thrice welcome, but only when Troy is taken."

In fact onemight suppose that all of Kipling's work is a response to the challenge of Carlyle, made in an apostrophe to the much-performing England; he says: "Nature alone knows thee, acknowledges the bulk and strength of thee: thy Epic, unsung in words, is written in huge characters on the face of this planet, - sea - moles, cotton - trades, railways, fleets and cities, Indian Empires, New Hollands; legible throughout the Solar System!" Ho longer is it an unsung epic; for Kipling is singing it.

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¹⁾ Writer of "Outlook" editorial quoted in "Living Age" v 249 p 701. 2) "Past and Present" p 199.



Holding the conception that literature is the record of the tribe, Hipling has assumed the role of minstrel. Often the poet appears as a here entertained on-looker. One readily detects the author in these verses:

> "What do it natter where or how we die, So long as we've our calth to watch it all -The different ways that different things are lone An' men an' women lovin' in this world Takin' our chances as they come along.

But if he as whee such an attitude it is not a frivolous one. He recognizes that to portray life he must know it in all its multifariousness, and that if this familiarity can be secured more at first hand than from Looks great is the gain thereby. Carlyle had the same opinion. Teufelsdrokh he makes affirm, "The ways of Man, ... are ocularly known to me. like the great Hadrian, I meted-out much of the terraqueous Globe with a pair of Compasses that belonged to muself only." . nd he descants upon the vanity of the attempt to judge life in "broken climpses through one patched and highly discolored pane," of scholastic lore. Circumstances forced him to gain hose of his peographical and foreign knowledge from an extremely wide and varied reading. Mipling also knew how to make effective use of second hand information; but he makes the most of his pare opportunities to see, and hear, and ask questions. Pefore writing his "Parrack-Room Callads

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[&]quot;Sestina of The Tramp Rojal".

[&]quot;Sartor Tesartus". p. 133. 2) 3)

[&]quot;Life of Heyne". Miscellaneous Essays p 329. his story "The Walking Delegate" in "The Day's Work" do onds for dialect and local color upon such data.



he obtained from the Duke of Connaught permission to visit, as we are informed in "A shof Vipling", " are military station in his command, and, if he wished, to go to the frontier and live with officers or .en." Some jears later "an engineer on one of the roads (at the Cape) reported that he was not up to schedule time because he had carried 'one of those literary swells' who had insisted on running the on, inc. "b

Agreeing with Surlyle that rucks are the desirable material for literature, that laterature the ld be a lirror of action, and that exact and if possible in suicite is orledge of the facts is essential Fipling chose to a possidirable degree the rough and avoided aspects of life. It a criticue of him Gratz says "the ugliness of actuality scens more planace ristic and therefore core attractive." It, particularly in his exploitation of India, so continuously focused his search-light on the "dark corner", as he called it, that many of the otories a dipoets of his early period seem excessively course, and bloody and c, nical. "Then he encountered virtue' says Parrie, 'he passoc it by respectfully as not what he was lothing for". ' n aspect of life that the man of the world in every land knows so ething of, an aspect which was splotched with jore, aspect with dash and glitter and surprise, and an aspect now fresh because of a few decudes of comparative refinement; such is the aspect or life which caught and fascinated the youthful oje of lipling; and by

Will F. Olemens' p 18.

Itid p 35.
"Contrintions to a Critique of Hipling", Living the v221 , 143.
"Tr. Figling's Stories". "Joutemporary Leview" v 50 p 335.
"Tr. Figling's Stories and strife means krife" lund Hipli g almost as compolling yas did the land "where there aint no ten commundments". Your line for e". Do reported Disting a 100



faithfully and consummately depicting which he has won the admiration of the readers of numerous Toreign tongues as well.

and yet one somotimes turns area his earliest work with a feeling as if he had been journeying through the canon of a dark and mighty river. In the gray are reguld walls he sais life forbidding and unbeautiful; but ever and anon a quaint, surprising fault appears, and at intervals along the course are monstrous warps and fowlings, all plainly explicable according to inexorable lass of earth. In certain regions appear the gaudy and varied hues of dissolution and decay; and at intervals very rare the continuity of gneissic hardress is I rollen by a wenderfull Lauterbrunen tributer; fall or pure and silv r water dashing irridescent to the river bed in a vision of lovely mist. Then so etimes in a much roder region the river vi. da silently between and around grand and grotesque forms which look as if the gods had howed there of tworn and virised odels of an parlier creation. There is always pictures me ass, does it often worder, at times a wild primordial beauty. The appect is from moment to some the heading, and maile a munitioned of the attribing it seems always true as life. But the scene is always only Torolless, flowerless rock; and the surlight never comes with full, warming brightness save in the perpendicular, broiling, blinding glare of hoon.

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7) "Mandalay" Ballads and Barrack-Room Ballads.



The Figling has written in a mindlior ore inspiring vein. And at all times one perceives his fidelity to his artistic principles, and at all time a fair-singud resear tust asset to his statement, "I set raught comon or unchan." In the riot of rimitive yession and abject degrodation, certain furdamental horan qualities which to to make a worthy can and a grand nation were constantly in his view. 1 With surpossing outspokenness he portrayed in natural labit the lawless man, and the soulless woman. Upon his work the vigorous satire of Jarlyle would be but commendation; Carlyle wrote, "low delicate, decent is English tiography, bless its mealy mouth! .. Damocles' sword of Respectability hands forever over the poor English lift writer ... and reduces him to the verge of paralysis", and "your true hero aust have no features, but be a white, stainless, impersonal phost hero."2 . In inverse description of lulvane,! Issurell, ir their adderence to fact above fireness lighling and Carlyle were singularly alike.

In their glorification of their vocation, in their hard leaning on facts, in their relating of the functions of listorian and poet, in their insistence upon detailed information, in their demand for unflinching boldness in presenting the facts of the tribe's achievement so acquired; in short in their contral artistic

¹⁾ In "L'anvoi" to Soldiers Three" Pipling writes,

[&]quot;Lo, I have wrought in common clay
The de figures of a rough-hewn race;
For Pearls strew not the market place
Tet is there life in that I make"



theories Figling and Carlyle exhibit arvelous unminity.

The concluding and the most convincing evidence of Mipling's extreme susceptibility to impressions from Carlile is to be obtained by a comparison of their personalities.

Carlyle had a colossal find. his soul is one of the grandest that has ever influenced other souls. Of Ridgard Hipling not quite that could be affirmed. Fis intellect is however exceedingly robust, and his personality is full of verve, and his points of contact with the morle are region.

Toth authors were men of wonderfully rich and histerful fatures. "after Savage Landor said Carlyle was "quite as much of a hero as Crowell".

of both hipling's ten rates and orlyle's one may well say what was said of Carlyle's countenance, that about it "there was something aboriginal". The press de of "viking secollections at the back of his head" is constantly observable in either of these two. One clear reason for the volue of Mipling is the fact that he is elemental. He and Carlyle, both are everflowing with impulses of primerical and. In our out of cultivation and the constraint of cillication could repress in them the "primal urge"; it could merely direct is application to high and constructive activity. In the case of these two however the discipline of education and social contact did not by

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^{1) &}quot;Diography of Landor" p 562. John Foster, 1869.
2) Brownell says in his essay on "Carlyle", "no writer ever had so such temperament." Victorian Prose asters p 94.



ny means acco plish a restriction of the expression of their matures, to established limits. Taine labelled Carlyle "an extraordinary Lastodon lost in world not made for him."

Irrepressible vigor is the attribute of every act and every utterance of the two men. They are amply endowed with that "kinetic kick" which fits its posse sor in whatever sentient race to prevail.

Being so constituted it naturally follows that each of them is fiercely independent. Tach of the tofelt within himself The dynamic potentiality even in childhood to such an extent that considerations of approbation and sympathy entered hardly at all into their decisions and conclusions. . school-fellow of Hipling's reports that he was frequently accorded leadership, and that he was "no respecter of persons, - not caring one jot what good or evil opinion those held of him with whom he came in daily conand in his literary career the monchalance with which tact."2 he disregards popular demands in the unfolding of his purposes is almost unexampled except in the case of Carlyle whose intrepid defiance of the whims of his utilishers and the tastes of readers is nothing short of marvelous; for his craving for distinction in letters seems to have been hardly less intense than that of Lapoleon for dominion.3

1) "history of English Literature" v 2 bl. 5 p 463.
2) H. G. "hite - "Ripling at School". "Independent" v 57 p 752.
3) Except in somewhat frequent but transient hoods I think Carlyle never outgrew the tremendous ambition expressed in a joi thful letter to Thomas Lurray, in magust 1814; "heaven knows that ever since I have been able to form a wish, the wish of being known has been the foremost. O Fortune! thou that givest unto each his his position in this dirty planet, bestow (if it shall please thee coronets and crowns, and principalities and wrses, and judging

and power upon the great and noble and fat ones of the earth; grant



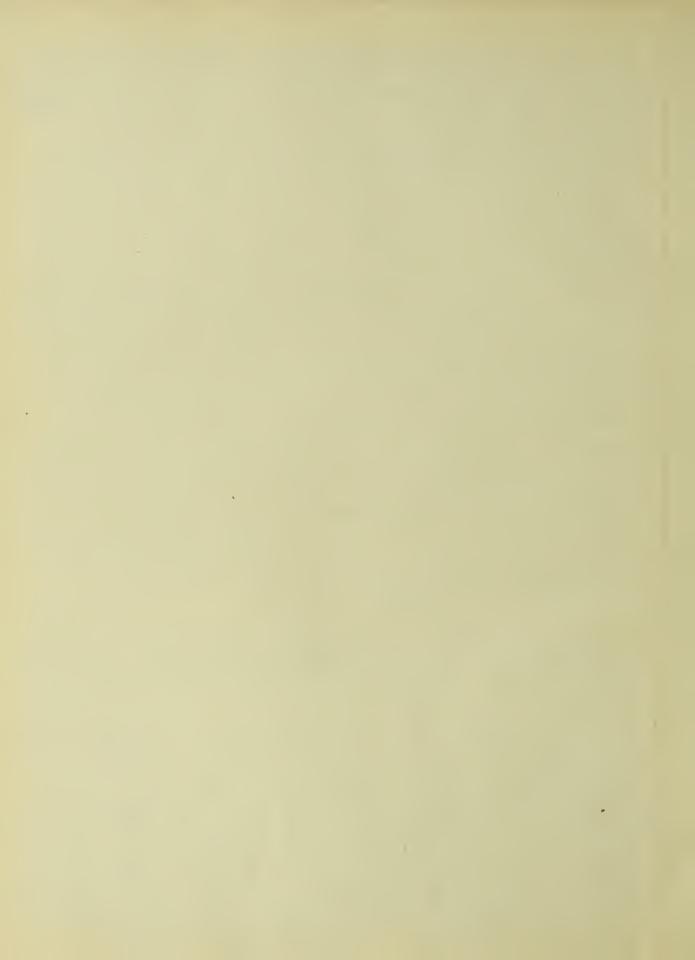
in very natural accompanion tof such measurcless force, and such absolute independence is ejotism. Both Fipling and Carlyle have such an ever-present sense of being able that inevitably their constant inclination is to thrust themselves forward. It is not from a premeditated wish to gain attention to themselves, but because their uissance impels them. This characteris ic is the reason for the prominence of the writer in their writings, as I have said. Ind it accounts, also, for the tyrangical manner which Carlylo was accustomed to assume in conversation. From the reports of visitors we learn that to take exception to un opinion of his was to throw soap into a geyser, the boiling eruption from which scalded all in the company. It was owing to this heroic arrogance, too, that Carlyle assumed toward mankind generally, and also toward individuals an attitude of pity instead of frat real sympathy, "as if," in the words of Henr, James, "the temple of friendship were a mospital, and all its inmates scrofulous or paralytic"."

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me that, with a heart of in ependence, unjielding to they favors and unbending to thy frowns, I may attain to literary fame - and though starvation by my lot, I will smile that I have not been born a king!!!" Published in a pendix to Longue Conway's Thomas

Carlyle.

1) Of references to Carlyle in contemporary letters, and reiniscences of literary men of a generation ago; in particular "Literary Reminiscences" by Tenry James, and Froude's "Life in London". In justice I must add the additional explanation conveyed in the remark of Caroline Fox in "Lemorics of Old Friends": "Carlyle's conversation and general views are curiously dyspeptic, his indication coloring everything"; and this from Thomas "entworth Higginson softens one's dislike of Carlyle's imperiousness, "Est that which saved all his sharpest words from being actually offensive was this, that after the most vehement tirde he would sudde by pause, throw his head back and give as gentine and hindly a laugh as I ever heard from a human being. ... a broad honest human laugh, which ... instantly changed the worn face into something frank and even winning, giving to it an expression that would have won the confidence of any child." Itlantic Lonthly, Tay 1881.



Kipling's arrogance finds prominent expression in his pose of condescending pit towards the provincial smugness of "The Islanders", as he calls Englishmen not excited over empire.

Carlyle however, notwithstanding the fact that he gave some evidence of being deficient in the capacity for feeling with humanity instead of for humanity, did have abundantly that generous, kindly pity which a not too nice usage calls sympathy. Leigh Hunt voices with tender appreciation what appears to have been the impression of nearly all who knew Carlyle, "I believe that what Mr. Carlyle loves better than all his fault-finding, ... is the face of any human creature that looks suffering and loving and sincere, and I believe further, that if the fellow-creature were suffering only, and neither loving nor sincere, but had come to a pass of agony in this life, which put him at the mercy of some good man for some last help ... that man if the groan reached him in its forlornness, would be Thomas Carlyle."1 And of his relation to mankind at large Harriet Martineau exclaims: "His excess of sympathy has been, I believe, the master-pain of his life."2

Now Rudyard Kipling is still a young author, and he is admirably reticent, and undesirous of having details of his private life bruited about; therefore illustrations of his

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1) Autobiography. 1850. v.2 p 211.

2) Ibid. v.l p 287, (edited by Chapman).

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^{2) &}quot;Some Personal Recollections of Carlyle" Atlantic Monthly, Nay 1881.



sympath; with those in his immediate environment are not forthcoming in abundance. One charming incident from his childhood is, however, an eloquent witness to the sympathy inherent in his nature. Professor Charles Norton relates it thus: "It as at Nasik, on the Dekhan plain, not far from Tombay, the little fellow trudging over the plowed field, with his hand in that of the native hisbandman, called back to her (his nother) in Hindustance, which was as ramiliar to him as English, "Good-by, this is my brother". To further illustration can be required, for no man could doubt that the creator of Prechoft and owgli, and ulvaney was lifted with the ability to share and fully sense the various feelings of many len. In the intensity of his sympathy Mipling seems not unlike Victor Hugo. Better say Carlyle! for however imporfectly Carlyle took the point of view of the 'dogs" and "swine" which composed the masses, or with "poor Quashee", few men have ever excelled him in putting limself entirely in the place of another, and parties a degraded, In his portrayals of theracter he was true to the very lar. exalted idea enunciated in his Essay on Voltaire: "to judge rightly of his character, we must learn to look at it, not less with lis eyes, than with out own; we must learn to pity him, to see him as a fellow or ature, in a word, to love hi ."2

But the two great authors have another conspicuous common trait more directly connected with their native soul force. It

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^{1) &}quot;Pudyard Hipling, A Diographical Shetch". Icolures v 13 p 283.
2) Miscellaneous Essajs (Chapman and Hall) v IV p 406.



is their love of fighting. It was owing to the intensity of his fighting institute that Carlyle selected warring leaders for so many of his heroes. And it was the robustness of this instinct in Hipling which made it easy for him to sympathize with "the passionless passion of slaughter."

I have shown that both Carlyle and Hipling are singularly charged with elemental force; that both are consequently independent, egotistic, and arrogant; that both have exceptional ability to take the point of view of a variety of people; and that in both of them keen sympathy with the fighting are is prominent because their primitive instincts are so insistant. And I have drawn attention to those facts in addition to emphasizing the remarkable similarity of their fresh and original qualities of style, and the ananimity of their artistic theory for the sake of making it evident that Fipling was just the type of man to whom Carlyle would strongly appeal.

powerful individual, with such independence and it is such general similarity to Carlile instantly suggests the assumption that it is the thing to be expected that his reaction to experience should crystallize in like views. There is truth in that assumption. Doubtless the similarity of doctrines could to a certain extent be accounted for had way. Tevertheless as I have reasoned in my first chapter the fact of sever unique points in common, which Carlyle diffused in the English-speaking world

^{1) &#}x27;Eallad of Boh Da Thone". Ballads and Parrack-Room Dallads.



rakes it highly robuble that as Carlyle was incluenced by Schilles and by Pichte and by Pichter and by Goethe, so Righing has influenced by him. The method of influence ws not so conscious, probably, and possibly was not so direct. Pt it is too ten to ascribe to Figure to any lingle individual and the originated all his message. The since there was have been some source for some, or some stage that for all - which is the more probable - of his ideas, and since Carlile is the prophet who delivered like ideas in relation and far-penetrating thres it is a fair presumption that Hilling was influenced by Carlyle. and this presumption once established is reinforced unpreciably by the discovery that in literary qualities, in literary taste and ideals, and most significant of all - as including and suparding the other evidence - to remodelity and temperaters. they bear gro. ounced resemblance. In other words the knowledge that they are i very runy, and very vital respects extending even to crucial idiosprenacios, the same kind of men intensifies the conviction that what one thought and the ht would deenly impress and strongly appeal to the other. To recur to my metaphor, one would not expect any but a very similar and very highly sensitized larcomi instrument to receive and transmit quite successfully currents set up by an erratic instrument of so unique a model; and or the other hand when a like peculiar apparatus is sending forth very similar unco non discharges the inforence that the second is structured is passing on the message from the first is just.



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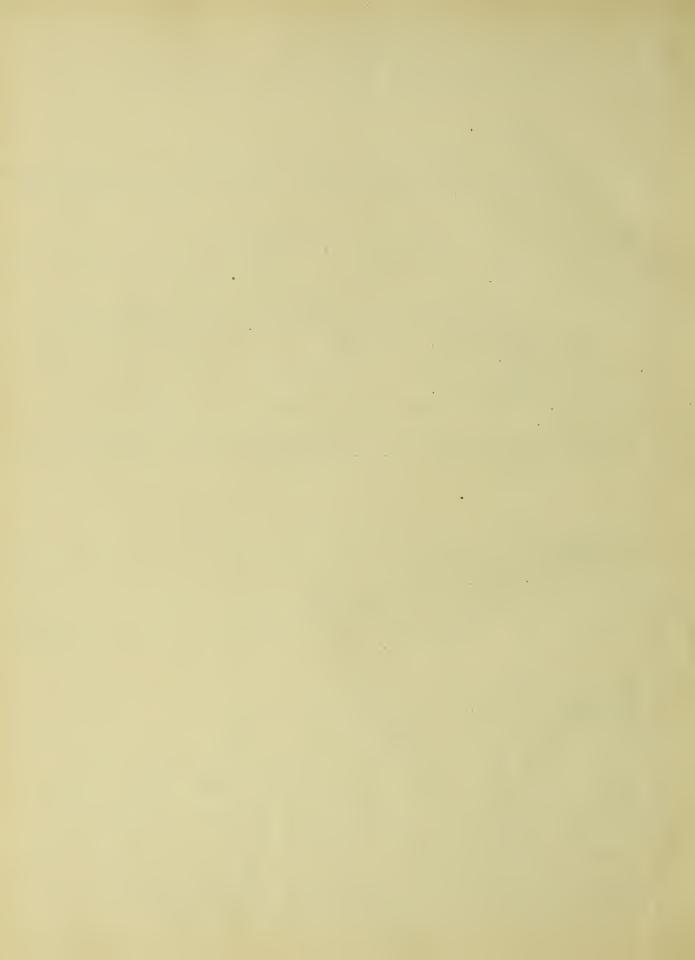
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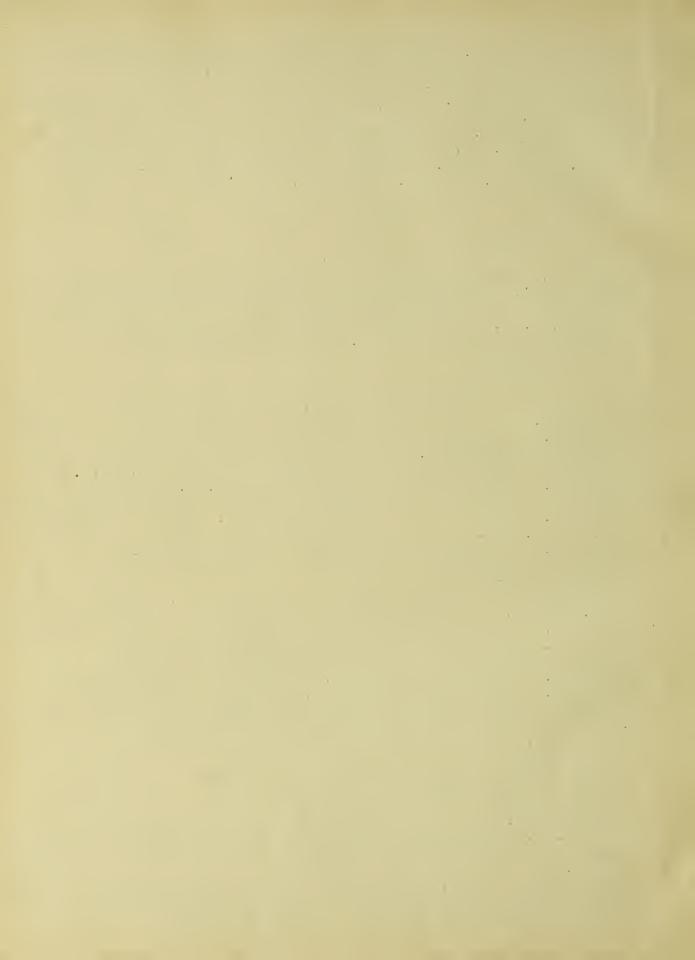
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